VEDIC VARIANTS

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A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated Mantras of the Veda

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PREFACE

Here is presented the first volume of the VEDIC VARIANTS. The aim of this work is to present a grammatical and stylistic study of the entire mass of the variant readings in the repeated mantras of the Vedic tradition, as revealed primarily by Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance* That book presents a complete 'index to every line of every stanza of the [then] published Vedic literature [and of some works not yet published at the time], and to the liturgical formulas thereof.' Of its some 90,000 entries, not far from a third occur more than once, either in the same text or in different texts Of the repeated text-units, again, it is estimated that about one-third show variations. The VEDIC VARIANTS are concerned with the variant readings of these repeated mantras, numbering roughly 10,000.

As to extent, the variations range all the way from change of a single letter in a single word, to radical rearrangements of the whole text They may or may not be accompanied by shift of meaning, great or slight They may be assumed to have been made sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously As to character, they are of the most varied sort They concern phonetics, the interrelation of different sounds and sound-changes, various departments of morphology, such as formation of stems of nouns, pronouns, and verbs, their inflection, and suffixation; syntax; order of words in the sentence, synonyms, meter, etc. There is hardly an important paragraph in Vedic grammar, or a department of the textual criticism and exegesis of the Veda, on which they fail to throw light

Furthermore, it is believed that the Variants will have great interest and value for general linguistics The literature of the world happens to contain no analogous body of material which can compare with them in size and scope The tradition of the Veda was at first oral; and what was originally one and the same stanza or formula was handed down in the texts of the various schools in more or less varying forms The variants are often of the same general character as those which appear in the various forms of ballads, or of church hymns there are simple differences in the order of words; differences due to the substitution of a more familiar, handy, or modern word or grammatical form for an archaic, inconvenient, or obsolescent one of equivalent meaning or function [or the converse of this, due to a conscious archaizing tendency]. To this must be added the very important point that there are also many

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cases in which a given mantra passage, composed under certain definite circum-
stances, was later on adapted and changed to serve a new purpose

Furthermore, Vedic literary production is often in a high degree imitative and
mechanical [a trait which it shares with most religious literature]   The poets or
priests, more or less consciously, fell into habits of expression such that entire
lines of different stanzas or hymns, and considerable sequences of words of differ-
ent prose passages, show much similarity.

So, but for the bracketed phrases, Bloomfield wrote in the Preface to
his Concordance, before he had systematically studied the Variants
Later he would probably have laid greater stress on the presumably
unconscious element in the variations, which was perhaps at least as
weighty as the conscious, and is certainly at least as interesting linguisti-
cally   I suspect, at any rate, that we learn even more about the speech-
habits of the Vedic priests from the changes which they introduced
without realizing it, than from their deliberate alterations   But whether
conscious or unconscious—and at this distance it is obviously impossible
to separate the two classes with confidence—any linguistic scholar will
see at a glance how many interesting observations can be drawn from
these thousands of variations, touching on every field of grammar and of
linguistic psychology.

From the pages of the Concordance, Bloomfield collected and classi-
fied the Variants in a preliminary way, arranging them topically under
ten or a dozen main heads, with numerous subdivisions in each   Of
course very many passages had to be included several times over under
different headings   This preliminary spade-work was completed when
he proposed to the present writer a collaborative enterprise, which
offer was gladly accepted   This was about 1913   In the next half-
dozen years I worked up from Bloomfield's lists, supplemented by
further gleanings of my own, a preliminary draft of four of the major
sections of the work   those on Phonetics (including Euphonic Combi-
nation or Sandhi), on Noun Formation (stems and suffixes), on Noun
Inflection, and on Order of Words   Bloomfield completed the first
draft of the greater part of the section on the Verb   There the matter
rested, for lack of prospect of publication   Bloomfield left collectanea
on Synonyms, Pronouns, and Prepositions and Particles, and a few minor
lists, in addition to those already mentioned   A section on Meter
would also be desirable

On Bloomfield's death in 1928, I took charge of the entire work,
and I have since revised and completed the section on the Verb, here
presented   It seems best to publish it first, since the major part of it

can be issued substantially as it came from the pen of one of the world's
greatest Vedists and linguistic scholars.

The publication has been made possible by the generous aid of the
LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, and of the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF
LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES, to both of which
hearty thanks are due and are hereby tendered. The surviving author
also desires to express his deep appreciation of the staunch and effective
support given to the project by the Chairman of the Committee on
Publications of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, Professor George
Melville Bolling.

Since the work on the Variants has been a collaborative enterprise,
and since it was Bloomfield's intention that it should appear over our
joint names, no attempt has been made to separate the contributions
of the two authors   It would, indeed, be impossible to make such a
separation completely. Credit belongs to Bloomfield alone for the
general plan of the whole work on the Variants; it was he who conceived
it and sketched its outlines. He also prepared, from the Concordance,
the preliminary lists of materials for this as well as for nearly all the
volumes to follow. To some extent these lists have been expanded
by further search on my part, in the Concordance and elsewhere.
Moreover, it was Bloomfield, as stated above, who prepared for publica-
tion the first draft of the major part of this volume, on the Verb. To be
exact, he wrote out a draft of all except the long chapter on Person
and Number, the last in the book. I have checked and revised his
manuscript, verifying most of the references from the original texts,
and making such changes as seemed to me necessary. Most of the
changes were of the sort which I am confident he would have made
himself in a final revision. I have preserved his language thruout as
far as it was possible to do so. A more radical revision of some para-
graphs has been made necessary by the appearance, since Bloomfield
wrote his manuscript, of new publications, as for instance Renou's
valuable dissertation on *La valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques*
(Paris, 1925). When I have made such far-reaching changes, and when-
ever I could not feel entirely confident that Bloomfield would have been
in agreement with what I have written, I have enclosed my additions
or substitutions in [square brackets], followed by the initials of my name.
I hope and believe that, even in these parts (which are not numerous), I
have written little that would not have met with his approval. The
chapter on Person and Number is entirely my work, aside from the
gathering of the preliminary lists, which in this case proved to be rather

incomplete. Under the circumstances I must perforce accept entire
responsibility for the final form of the work as printed, as well as for
that of all the volumes to follow   In them, unhappily, Bloomfield's
share will be much smaller than in this volume; altho I am glad to
say that some of the others, notably that on Phonetics, received
considerable attention from him

                                        FRANKLIN EDGERTON

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The abbreviations used need little explanation. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Vedic Concordance; except that, of course, the letter *ś* is substituted for *ç*, as also in all Sanskrit words, in accordance with the now prevalent international usage. Other abbreviations are rarely used and, it is hoped, will be self-explanatory   *RVRep* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

Two symbols, which are frequently used, require explanation: the asterisk * and the dagger †.

The asterisk * is used to indicate a variant reading of one text when the mantra occurs in the same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute.   For instance: *satyam vadiṣyāmi* (TA.* *vadiṣye*) TA. (bis) TU. ŚG. MG.   This means that TA. has the pāda in both forms, namely, *satyaṁ vadiṣyāmi*, and *satyam vadiṣye*.

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance.   For instance: *tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthah* (MŚ † °*tah*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.   This means that the reading of MŚ. is wrongly quoted in the Concordance (it fails to note the variant *bibhṛtuh*).

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CHAPTER I   INTRODUCTORY

Scope and plan of this work

§1. The variations in verbal inflexion are concerned with every leading aspect under which the verb is treated in the grammars.   They are, however, dealt with here not in the usual order of the Sanskrit grammars, but either according to their relative importance, or in accordance with certain logical and practical conveniences.   These interchanges are, in any case, heterogeneous, partly formal, partly syntactical, and partly stylistic; the boundary lines between these kinds are hazy.   The more important rubrics, such as voice, mood, and tense, are, moreover, so large a part of the whole as to call for first consideration, to some extent they serve as a convenient background for assorting and placing the remaining interchanges.   It has seemed best then to present the subject under the following nine larger rubrics:

> II. The Voices
> III. The Moods
> IV. The Tenses and Tense-Systems
> V. The Secondary Conjugations
> VI Interchange between finite Verbs and Verbal Nouns
> VII Interchanges of equivalent Personal Endings
> VIII. Matters pertaining to Augment and Reduplication
> IX. Variation in Grade of Stems and Allied Matters
> X. Person and Number

§2. By way of illustrating the combined effects of most, or at least many, of these phases of verbal variation in the case of a given root, we have chosen the root *hū* 'call'.   The interchanges practised on the body of this root are gathered in the following list:

huve nu (RV. VS. KS MahānU. *hvayāmi*) *śakram puruhūtam indram*
    RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.

sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV *havante;* comm. *ahvayanta*) RV. AV.
    KS.

sarvān agnīnr apsuṣado huve vah (MS. om *vah*) TS. MS AB : *śuān
    agnīn apsuṣado havāmahe* AV.

marutvantam sakhyāya havāmahe (SV. *huvemahi*) RV. SV.

tam (RV om) *sarası antam avase huvema* (AV. *havāmahe;* RV. KS *johavīmı*) RV RVKh. AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

agnım (AV *ukthaır,* MahūnU *ugram*) *huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV TA. MahūnU

rtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) AV. VS TS MS. KS AŚ. ŚŚ.

prātarjıtam bhagam ugram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV AV. VS TB ApMB N

prātah somam uta rudram huvema (AV· *havāmahe*) RV. AV VS TB ApMB.

mano nv ā huvāmahe (Vaıt. °*hı*, VS ŚB KŚ Kauś *hvāmahe*) RV VS. VSK. TS MS. KS. AB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ KŚ. LŚ ApŚ Vaıt Kauś. The Vaıt (20 9) reading should be the same as that of its source, Kauś 89 1, but 3 mss of Kauś read *hvāmahı*, and possibly this should be read in both texts

rathītamau rathīnām ahva (KS °*nām huva*) *ūtaye* TS MS KS : *āśūn huve* (AV *ıva*) *suyamān* (AV. °*mān ahva*) *ūtaye* AV. TS MS KS

havante vājasātaye RV.· *huvema rā*° RV SV MS KS : *huveya vā*° RV. AV

bṛhaspatim vah prajāpatım vo . . . *mśvān vo devān viśvatah parı harā-mahe* GB Vaıt · cf. *bṛhaspatım viśvān devān aham huve* RV.

§3. If we contemplate this welter of variations we find, in the first place, that it is not due, as might be antecedently supposed, to adaptation. No variant serves a new purpose, different from that of the parallels They are, without exception, grammatical or mildly stylistic And they often betray themselves as being blends of two or more existing expressions, which appear in the texts, notably the RV , elsewhere Thus, in the item

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*, KS *johavīmı*),

the unmetrical KS. reading is due, secondarily of course, to the parallel pāda

sarasvantam avase johavīmı RV.

Here *johavīmı* is metrically faultless, and its passage into a wrong place was, perhaps, promoted further by the cadences *avase johavīmı*, RV. 1 34 12, and *avase johavīlı*, RV 3 62 2; 7 38 6.

§4 In no less than five instances of the above list AV. reads, at the end of its pādas, *havāmahe* in the place of related expressions in other texts. So favorite a cadence has this become in AV that we find it in four of these five times as a mildly incommensurable *jagatī* cadence in

otherwise *tristubh* stanzas: 3. 16 2, 7. 6 2, 7. 40. 1, 16. 1. 13 [1]   Only in
one case, 3. 16 1, does the AV. cadence conform to the rest of the (*jagatī*)
stanza.   It is quite clear that AV , tho well acquainted with all the
other present stems of the root *hū*, has been enticed into this preference
for *havāmahe* by the fact that the word occurs extensively at the ends of
pādas; e.g *avase havāmahe* RV 2 16 1, 3 26 2, 8 86 4, 8 99.·8, 10 66
4, reproduced in two of the four AV instances, 7. 6 2,-7. 40 1.   For
other numerous instances of *havāmahe* in *jagatī* cadence see *RVRep*
660, under final cadences in *-he*

§5. That the four present stems of *hū*, namely *hava, huva, hvaya,* and
johavī, should interchange in the total oral Vedic tradition, needs no
comment   It is, probably, supported by set phrases in which the *hū*
present is accompanied by some other word   The only surprising thing
is that the popular AV has not passed over into the (later regular) stem
hvaya, but, on the contrary, finds it in its heart to exhibit in two in-
stances other stems for *hvaya* of parallel texts[2]

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hvayāmi) śakram puruhūtam indram*
      RV AV SV VS TS MS KS MahānU.
sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV KS [3]

§6 For interchange in this group between moods, tenses, augmented
and augmentless forms, and so forth, see the respective rubrics   Bar-
ring occasional textual blunders, these and the countless others like them
from other roots are one and all outcomes of Vedic tradition as a whole,
which in the main does not show the formal, syntactic, and stylistic
stability which is customary in literature of a more advanced type.   For
the most part, as may be seen, rubric by rubric, the variations between
text and text are based upon the natural freedom of expression in prayers
and songs of praise, and upon the looser syntax which, compared for
instance with Greek and Latin, pervades Sanskrit from the Veda to the
end of its career   Faults of memory no doubt entered largely into these
variations, and so help to account for such instability in the tradition
of the Vedic mantras, which was so largely oral

[1] In one internal occurrence, 7 63 1, AV uses *havāmahe* where it can only be
called a gross metrical blunder *agnim* (AV *ukthair,* MahānU *ugram) huvema*
(AV *havāmahe) paramāt sadhasthāt* AV TA MahānU

[2] See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 21 48, *The Atharvaveda* 50, r 5

[3] Here, to be sure, the AV comm reads *ahvayanta* with the rest   The variant
quoted by the Conc as *apām napātam aśvinā huve dhiyā* (TS *aśvinā hvayantām)*
is a slip, TS reads *hayanta* ꞏ and this does not concern the root *hū*

Ambiguous grammatical forms: augmented and augmentless preterites

§7 According to a familiar experience of Vedic grammar it is quite often difficult, or even impossible, to determine the precise formal or functional meaning of certain Vedic verbs   This difficulty would, to some extent, seem to be eliminable by means of the variants which are, of course, occasionally in the nature of reciprocal comments   Thus augmentless preterites are not infrequently in interchange with unambiguous modal forms   This makes, or seems at first blush to make, *prima facie* evidence in favor of the modal (injunctive) value of the corresponding augmentless forms, and as a rule we have so classified them   Thus in the class 'Subjunctive and Injunctive', §167 f , the augmentless forms are regarded as modal   Yet they might in perhaps every case be considered preterites, but for that very interchange with subjunctives, as e g in

prācīnam sīdat (MS *sīdāt praaisā pṛthivyāḥ* VS MS KS TB

Nay more. even in spite of that interchange, there is no way of proving that they are not to be considered preterites   For, as we shall show, §§112 ff , indicatives of all sorts, and §§127 ff   more particularly preterites, exchange with moods of all sorts on a huge scale for good and proper reasons, so that the alternation of *sīdat* and its apparent interpreter *sīdāt* really proves nothing in itself   The decision in such cases must be left to tactful individual considerations

§8 We would draw attention here to a few especially vexing cases of this sort, e g ·

havyā te svadantām (MS *svadan*[4], KS *asvadan*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB. 'delightful to taste be (were) to thee the oblations.' Here *svadan* may be injunctive to match the modal (imperative) *svadantām*, or it may be preterite indicative to match *asvadan*[5]   Chi lo sa? Similarly, in

kāmam (AV. PB *kāmaḥ*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā viṣa* (AV. *viveśa*, KS PB *viṣat*) AV KS PB. TB TA AŚ ApŚ ,

viṣat is ambiguous, it may be preterite, to match *viveśa*, or injunctive to match *viṣa*. Of a different aspect is

āsann ā (SV PB. *āsan naḥ*) *pātram janayanta* (KS °*tu*) *devāḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS MS KS PB ŚB

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[4] In one of two occurrences the MS mss and ed read *svadam* (p p likewise), which is probably an error as indicated by the other reading in the same text, tho possibly a transitive 1st person sing

[5] And that whether we regard it as augmentless with the mss and p p of MS , or as intended for *'svadan* = *asvadan* of KS , we ignore at this point this purely formal question as to whether an augment is or is not felt as present where Vedic sandhi permits the elision of initial *a*, a question which obviously increases the dubiety of some of the forms we are discussing, see §§264ff

'the gods begot (shall beget) him (Agni) as a vessel at their (our) mouths.'
We have classified (§136) *janayanta* as imperfect, because that seems to
us the better sense, we are frankly subjective, as we think we must be
In other words, we refuse to attach value in this instance to the implied
comment of the single *janayantu* of KS   Yet the Kāṭhakas, if we may
trust their tradition, evidently conceived the passage reasonably enuf.
Next,

tisro yad agne śaradas tvām ic, chucim ghṛtena śucayah saparyān (TB.
saparyan), *nāmāni cid dadhire yajñiyāni* RV. TB ,

'when for three autumns (seasons? = one year, Bergaigne 2. 117 n.) the
pure (gods?) honored with ghee just thee, O Agni, the pure one, they
obtained names (forms) worthy of sacrifice ' Here one might classify
saparyan as injunctive, because of the modal value of *saparyān*   But
[the reason for this modal form has never been explained (F E), and]
a glance at §§264 ff shows that augmentless imperfects may be regarded
just as easily as true imperfects.   On the whole, in spite of the implied
comment of *saparyān*, we have preferred to construe (§145, d) *saparyan*
as imperfect.   [This may, indeed, suggest the reason for TB's varia-
tion; to the feeling of TB., as to ours, an imperfect indicative was per-
haps required F E]

§9. Similarly, in

jātah pṛchad (SV *pṛchād*) *vi mātaram* RV. SV.

(cf *vi pṛchad iti mātaram* RV.) 'as soon as born he asked his mother', the
SV., wholly contrary to our sense of fitness, imposes modal value upon
the verb   More perplexing than these is the small list discussed §268
(cf. §145), in which augmented imperfects interchange with correspond-
ing augmentless forms in dependent clauses   The latter may be either
imperfects, or injunctives, which occur freely enuf in relative clauses,
see §§125 and 168   In brief, the evidence of the variants, taken by
itself, rarely if at all fixes the syntactical value of augmentless preterites

Uncertainty as to the moods of certain presents and aorists

§10 In this work, as elsewhere, it is hard to distinguish modal forms
of the root-present and the accented *a*-present (aorist present) from the
modal forms of the root-aorist and the *a*-aorist.   In two related cases,

marto vurīta (TS. *vṛnīta*, KS *vareta*) *sakhyam* RV. VS. TS MS KS
ŚB

dyumnam (KS also °*ne*) *vṛnīta puṣyase* (KS *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS
TS MS KS ŚB

we have followed what may be called the orthodox classification of the

forms *turīla* (Lat. *tolīle*) and *vareta* as aorists   The decision is grounded on the absence of forms with primary endings by the side of these forms   We are of course not influenced by the present-tense variant *vṛṇīta*, which is ambiguous as to mood.[c]   But this criterion is not always valid in our eyes   In §210 a, occur seven cases in which *kṛdhi* (once *kṛṣva*) exchanges with *kṛṇu* and *kuru* (once *kṛṇuṣva*).   We have taken *kṛdhi* to be aorist imperative, contrary to some authorities (e g   Grassmann, *Wbch.* 334b), not deterred by sporadic back-formations (from this very *kṛdhi*) into the present: *kṛthas, kṛtha* (cf. Whitney, *Roots*, 21).   With some hesitation we have also classed as aorists the first of the following pairs: *pātam, pībatam* (notwithstanding RV. *pānti*, §210, a); *śrotā, śṛṇota* (ibidem); *manai, manve* (§119).   Or we have shirked a final decision as to whether the first is a present or an aorist in the following pairs: *yukṣvā, yuñkṣvā* (§192): *madasva* (probably present), *mandasva* (*ibidem*) Various cases of ambiguity spring from thematic *a:* is it present sign or subjunctive sign on the body of a non-thematic form?   Thus in *karati, karoti* (§124, end), cf. *karati, kṛṇotu* (§154), and *karah, kṛṇotu* (§104, o), in both of which last cases we classify *kara-* as aorist subjunctive.   Doubtful also is *tanate*, varying with both the present *tanute* and the aorist *taṅsate* (§117), or, again, with *tanutām* (§§116, 154, 191).

§11. In the perfectly clear expression

sa traivbhyah pari dadat (TA. *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV. AV. TA. N.

'he shall hand thee over to these manes', both forms, though grammatically ambiguous, are treated as respectively subjunctive and injunctive (see §167).   They might also be regarded as imperfect indicatives, thematic and non-thematic; see §193 where occur what may be felt as the same forms, since the circumstances make it impossible to say whether the augment was felt with them or not

§12. In all these and similar cases we have often classified on what may be called the line of least resistance, on the basis of common sense and average Vedic habit; and we have not, in all cases, thought it necessary to suggest the obvious alternative   Cf. on this theme Neisser, *BB*. 7. 211 ff.

Imperatives (?) or Subjunctives in se

§13. Of exceptional interest are the two forms *stuṣe* and *kṛṣe* interchanging with *stuhi* and *kṛdhi*, listed §165.   We have inclined to regard

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[c] Perhaps best considered optative in view of the parallels, tho in itself it might quall; well be injunctive or imperative.

them as 2d person singular middle imperatives, or perhaps better sub-
junctives, corresponding to the well-established class of active modal
forms in *si*

Phonetic variants: interchange between t *and* th *in 2d plurals*

§14 A number of phonetic variations are so constant as to raise the
question whether the resulting formal differences are not in part mere
oral blunders, especially in cases where one of the verb-forms is question-
able on some other ground   The most important of these is the inter-
change between *t* and *th*, part of the broad chapter of interchanges
between unaspirated and aspirated stops, which will appear as an impor-
tant part of our volume on Phonetics   Thus the 2d plural endings *ta* and
tha interchange freely, there being rarely any connexion in which either
of them, notwithstanding their modal difference, is impossible or even
difficult, cf the other interchanges between indicative and imperative,
§116   The chronology of the texts generally decides in favor of one or
the other

tam sma jānīta (VSK *°tha*) *parame vyoman* AV VS VSK TS KS ŚB.
    MŚ   Here *jānītha*, tho perfectly sound grammar, is a secondary
    blend of *jānīta* and (subj) *jānātha* in the kindred formula *etam
    jānātha* (KS *jānīta;* TB *jānītāt*) *pa° vy°* VS KS ŚB. TB., cf
    jānīta smainam (TS MŚ *jānītād enam*) *pa° vy°* AV. TS MŚ.

§15 In the next, *kṛtha* is a dubious root present, really a back-forma-
tion from aorists such as *kṛdhi*   Yet it is certainly the original reading.
yad āmayati nṣ kṛtha (TS MS KS *kṛta*) RV. VS TS MS KS.

§16 In the following group, primary *tha*, with indicative sense, is
secondary and more or less inferior to the ending *ta* with injunctive or
imperative sense·
devebhyo bhavata (TB *°tha*) *suprāyanāh* RV AV. VS MS KS TB N
śivā no bhavata (ApŚ *°tha*) *jīvase* MS ApŚ
śuddhāh pūtā bhavata (TA *°tha*, MG. *°ntu*) *yajñiyāsah* RV. TA MG
tena krīdantīś (ŚG *krīl°*) *carata* (ŚG *°tha*) *priyena* (AV *vaśān anu*) AV
    TS ŚG PG ViDh
aśvā bhavata (AV. TS KS *°tha*) *vājinah* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB
    devā bhavata vā° RV.
datto asmabhyam (etc , see §250, p 165) *dravineha bhadram* AV KS
    AŚ SMB.   *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS

§17 Wholly anomalous, not to say impossible, are the traditionally
recorded *tha* forms in the next two:

ye 'tra pitarah . *bhūyāstha* AV ŚŚ : *ya etasmin loke* . . . .
bhūyāsta TS TB   Of course a precative formation cannot, accord-
ing to decent grammar, have a primary ending, yet apparently
all mss of both AV. and ŚŚ agree on *-tha*, see Whitney on AV.
18 4 86

arālāg udabhartsata (AV mss. *°tha*) AV ŚŚ   The AV mss at 20 139 1
read thus; in an augmented form *tha* is a monstrosity   Roth's
violent emendation, *āsannā udabhir yathā*, has of course no standing.

§18 On the other hand the forms in *tha* claim precedence in the
following

payasvatīh kṛnuthāpa (TS *°tāpa*) *oṣadhīh śivāh* (TS om. *śi°*) AV. TS
ud īrayathā (MS MŚ *°tā*, AV KS. *°ta*) *marutah samudratah* RV. AV
    TS MS KS. AŚ MŚ
yūyam (MS *divo*) *vṛṣṭim varṣayathā* (MS *°tā*) *purīṣinah* RV TS MS.
    KS

§19 Doubtful as to precedence are

aulaba (HG *°va*) *it tam upā hvayatha* (HG. *°ta*) ApMB. HG.
saputrikāyām jāgratha PG. *yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ   Cf Stenzler's
    note to translation of PG 1. 16 22

Phonetic variants: interchange between t *and* th *in 2d and 3d duals*

§20 About equally often the 2d and 3d dual forms interchange so as
to involve *t* and *th*, these cases will be classified in greater detail in the
section on Person, below   The decision as to priority depends on attend-
ant circumstances, notably the relative chronology of the texts.

hato (SV TB *hatho*) *vṛtrāny āryā* (AV. TB *aprati*) RV AV SV TB
    Followed in RV SV by the next two

hato (SV *hatho*) *dāsām satpatī,* and *hato* (SV *hatho*) *viśvā apa dviṣah*
    RV SV   An entire stanza is changed here from 3d person reference
    to direct address, see below, §§329, 332 —As in this case, the *t* forms
    are prior in

sam (ApMB *śam*) *ūdho romaśam hatah* (ApMB *hathah*) RV. ApMB
    The form *hathah* is absurd, though apparently very old in the Ap
    tradition, see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB , p xx

purā gṛdhrād araruṣah pibātah (TB *°thah*) RV MS TB

§21 But in the next two the *th* form is evidently prior, while in most
of the rest here listed there is little clear evidence supporting either one
citrebhir abhrair upa tiṣthatho (MS *°to*) *ravam* RV † MS Followed by
dyām varṣayatho (MS *°to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV MS   The p p of MS
    has *°thah*   See §337

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām (VSK. TS ApŚ *prornvāthām,* MS MŚ † *prornuvālām*) VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ , cf. *vapayā* etc Kauś , and see Conc under *svarge* (°*gena, suvarge*) *loke*(-*na*) *prornuvāthām* etc (only MS. °*tām;* VS. VSK TS KSA † [which reads *samprornuvāthām*] ŚB TB Vait °*thām*)

yā (AV TS. *yāv*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS † °*tho,* AV. *viśatho*) *yau ca rak-ṣatah* (AV. KS † °*thah*) AV. TS MS. KS

yau viśvasya paribhū (KS *viśvasyādhipā*) *babhūvathuh* (TS † °*tuh*) KS. TS

yā rājānā (TS. °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS *tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthah* (MŚ † °*tah*); and, in same passage. *vīram janayiṣyathah* (MŚ °*tah*); and:

te mat prātah prajanayiṣyethe (MŚ °*te*), *te mā prajāte prajanayiṣyathah* (MŚ °*tah*) TB ApŚ. MŚ

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB. ApŚ °*yāv*) *abhūtām* (MS °*thām*) MS. KS.† TB. ApŚ. And, in same stanza ·

divi (KS *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS KS. *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS KS.† °*thām*), same texts   *abhūthām* is anomalous, see §§56, 337.

kāmam duhātām iha śakvarībhih AV : *rāṣtram duhāthām iha revatībhih* TB   Here, tho the context in AV. requires a 3d person verb, most mss read °*thām* like TB (but Ppp °*tām*).

§22 For lack of a better place we append here another curious variant between *t* and *th* in verbal endings, which concerns neither duals nor 2d plurals

abhiramyatām (MŚ 8 20 °*thām!*) MŚ ŚG YDh BṛhPDh. So accord-ing to Conc the mss of MŚ as recorded by Knauer, since it occurs in the unpublished part of MŚ it is impossible to verify it, but it is presumably a mistake in copying by either an Indian scribe or a western scholar.   The form *abhiramyatām* is, of course, 3d singular passive imperative

Phonetic variants · interchange between a and u before v

§23 From out of the confusion of shifting vowel tradition in the variants, to be treated in our volume on Phonetics, one phase tends to unsettle the exact meaning of a certain group of verb changes   Namely, in quite a number of cases *u* interchanges with *a* before *v*, so that the resulting forms may be judged to be either phonetic or morphological, in all probability a mixture of both   Thus, in

abhi pra nonuvur (SV *nonavur*) *girah* RV SV.

nonuvur is intensive perfect (Whitney, *Gr.* § 1018a), while *nonavur* is in-

tensive augmentless imperfect (*ibid* §1015)   The SV reading is surely secondary, and phonetic at least in part, rather than truly morphological Considerations of this sort are in order in the following list, in which the frequent interchange between stems *bhava-* and *bhuva-* strikes the eye, note particularly the persistent choice of *bhuva-* on the part of SV in the first six examples (cf contrariwise SV *nonavur* above)   The Black YV texts also show a preference for *u* as against *a*, as we shall show in the Phonetics volume.

sammislo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*)   *dhenubhih* RV SV.

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS
    Kauś

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV. °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV SV KS

nemiś cakram wābhavat (SV. MS °*bhuvat*) RV SV TS MS

yat some-soma ābhavah (SV *ābhuvah*) RV SV

yad dūre sann ihābhavah (SV °*bhuvah*) RV SV MŚ N

sampriyah (TA °*yam prajayā*) *paśubhir bhava* (TB TA *bhuvat*) MS
    TB TA ApŚ

asapatnā (RV * °*nah*) *kilābhuvam* (ApMB °*bhavam*) RV. (bis) ApMB

yatra (SV *yatrā*) *devā iti bravan* (SV *bruvan*) RV SV

tasmai devā adhi bruvan (VS TS *bravan*) VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ

tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS *bruvat*) RV AV. KS

pra bravāma (MS *bruvāma*, v 1 *bra*°) *śaradah śatam* VS MS TA. ApMB
    HG MG

tad aham nihnave (ŚŚ *nihnuve*) *tubhyam* AB ŚŚ

upa śravat (MS *śruvat*, p p *śravat*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV MS

    An interchange like *tam ahve* (SV *u huve* = *u hve*) *vājasātaye* RV
SV , may be suspected of being a similar phonetic variant across the
faint pronunciation of *h*

Phonetic variants· loss of t (d) *as first of a group of three consonants*

    §24 In a small group attention is arrested by the interchange between
āt (*ād*) and *ā* before two consonants, in connexion with which the *t* (*d*)
makes three consonants   There are three such cases each before *d* and
before *s*

agnir dād (TS *dā*) *dravinam vīrapeśāh* RV TS P p of TS *dāh*, this form
    occurs several times in the context, and no doubt flitted thru the
    mind of the compiler   But a 2d person form is most bizarre, since
    a nominative subject (*agnir*) immediately precedes, despite Keith's
    attempt to explain it (TS 162, n 4), we believe the variant is
    essentially phonetic. Cf the next

yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā (KS. *tiṣṭhād*) *draviṇcha dhattāt* RV MS KS. AB TB.
  N. P p of RV. *tiṣṭhāh*: 'bestow upon us wealth here when thou
  standest erect.' All texts have as next pāda, *yad vā kṣayo mātur
  asyā upasthe*, showing up the extreme reprehensibleness of the KS
  reading. Cf. prec., of which this is the reverse
āprā (AV *āprād*) *dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣam* RV. AV ArS. VS TS. MS.
  KS ŚB TB. AA. TA.
    Here both forms are 3d person; AV has the later form *āprād* for *āprās*.
tān ādityān anu madā (MS *madāt*) *svastaye* RV. MS P p. of MS
  mada; madāt may be a mere corruption, see §315.
bodhā stotre (MS. *bodhāt stomair*) *vayo dadhat* (ApŚ *vayovṛdhah*) RV.
  SV. MS ApŚ. In MS part of a different stanza; but a v. l *bodhā*
  is recorded.
adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB : *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG.
  (corrupt; see §153); cf. *adho vadādharo vada* HG.

*Phonetic variants; presence or absence of visarga at the end of words,
        mostly at the end of pādas*

§25. In a number of cases verbal variations depend entirely or in part
upon the presence or absence of *visarga* (*h*), especially at the end of a
pāda. As the sound was pronounced faintly (not, as in modern Hindu
pronunciation, as *h* followed by a vowel), it is quite possible that some
of these interchanges are purely phonetic, it would doubtless be going
too far to say that they all are   Thus (§158, end) TS 3 5 10 1 has the
anomalous *yodhi* for *yodhīh* of other texts at the end of a stanza (Whit-
ney, *Gr.* §839), if this is the only occurrence of *yodhi*, we might cancel it
from our grammars and lexicons   Cf Keith's note, *HOS* 28 286, n 1.
The total of such correspondences is not small, those which concern
verb forms are supported by others, cf. *pibāt somam mamadad* (AŚ ŚŚ
somam amadann) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*), AV. AŚ ŚŚ , §137, where
it occurs in noun forms.
pra-pra yajñapatim tira (TA *tirah*, but Poona ed *tira*) AV VS TS MS.
    KS TA AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ   See §156 for this and the next three.
sūryasya tapas tapa (MS MŚ *tapah*) MS TA ApŚ MŚ
ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ *vahah*) AV ŚŚ
viśvasmāt (TA *divo vi°*) *sīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA *uruṣyah*) RV. TA
tāv imā upa sarpatah SV. JB.· *emām anu sarpata* MS   See §116
agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma (TB °*mah*) RV TB   See §124, where
    also, but in the interior of the passage, *dhvarāma: dhūrvāmas*, in
    the item *tam dhūrva* etc.

anyavratasya (TA *anyad vra°*) *saścima* (TA *°mah*, RV *saścire*) RV VS
MS ŚB TA (corrupt.) For this and the next four items see
§262, c

prati bhāgam na dīdhima (SV *°mah*) RV AV SV VS N

viratāh smah (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG PG.

abhiratāh smah (YDh *sma ha*) ViDh YDh BṛhPDh

tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ *sma*) TB MŚ

tau saha (VS ŚB. *tā ubhau*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāvahai* (VS
ŚB. *°yāva*, MS *°yāvah*) VS TS. MS KSA ŚB ApŚ

viśvāh pinvathah (TB. *°tha*) *svasarasya dhenāh* RV MS TB (comm.
Bibl Ind ed. *°thah*, but Poona ed *°tha*). Vacillation of sandhi
before *s* + cons., one ms. of MS *°tha*

Phonetic variants interchange between e and ai

§26 Especially at the end of pādas, but also elsewhere, *e* and *ai* fre-
quently interchange   This, as regards the verb, concerns for the most
part interchange between the (indicative or subjunctive) endings *mahe*,
vahe, and the subjunctive *mahai, vahai*; see §§118, 124, 253   To illus-
trate the same phonetic change outside of the verb, we may quote one
of many changes between the pronouns *asme* and *asmai*

supippalā oṣadhīh kartanāsme (AV *kartam asmai*; VSK *kartam asme*)
AV. VS VSK MS

In the item *brahmāham antaram kṛnve* (KŚ *karave*) AV KŚ , the Conc
suggests the more proper *karavai* for KŚ.

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ. *°mahai*, MŚ *visṛjāvahai*) AŚ. ŚŚ Vait ApŚ.
MŚ PG.

yam jīvam aśnavāmahai (MS *°he*) RV AV VS TS MS KS

devān yajñiyān iha yān yajāmahai (TS *havāmahe*) TS MS KS

rayim yena vanāmahai (SV *°he*) RV SV

kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuh, sacāvahe (MS *°hai*, p p *°he*) *yad avṛkam
purā cit* RV MS

The same interchange occurs between *te* and *tai* as subjunctive end-
ings; all the cases which occur are grouped in §253

Phonetic interchanges concerning y in combination with other consonants

§27 For this theme as a whole see Bloomfield, *SBE* 42 418 ff , and
the appropriate section of our volume on Phonetics   The Concordance
presents the item

bhakṣa āgatah TS · *bhakṣah pītah* VSK   *bhakṣo bhakṣyamānah* (KS.
bhakṣa°) VS KS   So the single ms of KS (at that time unedited)

reads, but the now printed text quite properly emends to *bhakṣya-mānah*, matching VS. Similarly,

(*net tvā*) *dadhṛg vidhakṣyan paryañkhayāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan pariñkh-ayātai*) RV. AV.: *net tvā dadhad vidhakṣyan paryañkhayātai* TS 'Lest the bold one embrace thee (shake thee about) intending to burn thee', or the like. Many mss. of AV. read *vidhakṣyan*, which should be adopted Cf. Whitney on AV 18. 2 58.

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtalamenāyakṣase (TA °*yakṣyase*; ŚŚ. °*yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ. The aorist *yakṣase* may = the future *yakṣyase*; and *yachase* is certainly a phonetic corruption for *yakṣ(y)ase*

On the other hand, the fuller *kṣy* is secondary in the following:

ā te yatante rathyo yathā pṛthak, śardhānsy agne ajarāni (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. *dhakṣatah* is aorist participle, gen sing , *dhakṣyase*, 'thou shalt be kindled', connected asyndetically with *yatante*, is obviously secondary   In fact, Caland on ApŚ 3 15. 5 takes it as a mere corruption of the other reading

§28 Similarly the group *ścy* is reduced, secondarily.

ā vṛścyantām (AV. *vṛścantām*) *aditaye durevāh* RV. AV.   See §87.

In one instance *ṣy* is secondarily reduced to *ṣ* ·

ratho na vājam saniṣyann (SV *saniṣann*) *ayāsīt* RV. SV.   'He hath come like a chariot about to win (that hath won) booty.'   *saniṣyan* is a common form, *saniṣan* an aorist participle made for the occasion. Cf. Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* 281, and our §234, c.

In a remarkably persistent way the mss read *arātsyam*, improper conditional, for *arātsam*, proper prophetic aorist, in the set formula ·

tenārātsyam (ŚŚ MŚ GG. v. 1 °*rātsam*) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ GG', cf. *tan me 'rādhi* (Kauś *rāddham*) VS. TS. TA Kauś.

CHAPTER II   THE VOICES

INTERCHANGE BETWEEN ACTIVE AND MIDDLE AND PASSIVE

§29. The number of these interchanges is large   They naturally fall into four rubrics   First, a not very large group of interchanges between active and middle, in which the middle has middle or passive value, and the active has transitive value, so that the two are definitely distinguished

Second, a very much larger group, involving many roots of the language, in which the interchange between active and middle is without clearly perceptible difference, this is a part of the break-down of the distinction between the two voices which is noticeable from the earliest times   Our variants are grouped in two subdivisions, according as we find the interchange two or more times from a single root, or only once

Third, interchange between active and passive constructions, as part of a growing movement towards passive forms of expression, which becomes far more pronounced in later Sanskrit

Fourth, interchanges between middle and passive, a small group in which the middle has passive meaning and is therefore equivalent to the passive form

1 Transfusions between active and middle psychology, or interchanges between active and middle in their true and original meanings

§30. The primary distinction between active and middle as vehicles of transitive and reflexive (or more broadly, sphere-of-the-subject) function, well named by the Hindu grammarians *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*, comes to the fore in not a few passages which alternate active and middle forms with more or less material and clear change of meaning, and, we may add, by no means always so that the active passage may be transfused directly into the middle passage   These cases are parallel or analogous to the similar list of variant active and passive constructions, treated below   They are, moreover, flanked by a few others which offer occasion for a quasi-variant use of active and middle, tho they are not true variants of one another, but merely passages derived from similar spheres of conception in which active and

30

middle each are properly differentiated in accordance with the total sense of the passage.

apriyah prati muñcatām AV. 'let the enemy fasten on himself', *apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś.† *muñcatam*) AV. Kauś 'fasten thou (ye two) that on the enemy.'

niṣkam iva prati muñcata (and, °*tām*) AV. (both). In different verses: 'fasten ye on (others) like a necklace', or, 'let him fasten on himself' etc.

ya īm vahanta āśubhih RV. 'who travel (transport themselves) with swift horses': *yadī vahanty āśatah* SV. 'if swift horses transport (him).' Cf. §67, where the two voices of *tah* are found without difference of meaning

yad vo 'śuddhāh (VSK. °*ah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK. *jaghānaitad*) *idam vas tac chundhāmi* VS VSK ŚB 'whatever of yours the impure have (has) polluted, that do I here cleanse for you', *yad aśuddhah parājaghāna tad ta etena śundhantām* KS 'whatsoever the impure has polluted, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (become pure)', or, perhaps, 'let them (indefinite) purify that for you thru this'; cf. below, §71, to which the KS version belongs if *śundhantām* has active meaning: *yad vo 'śuddha ālebhe tañ śundhadhvam* MS 'what of yours an impure one has handled, do ye purify that for yourselves (or, do ye become pure as to that).'

yat te krūram...tat te śudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām;* MS. *tad etena śundhasva*) VS TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. See prec , and cf. §§71, 82, 338 end.

sa viśvā prati cāklpe AV. 'he hath shaped himself into all things'; *sa viśvam prati cāklpat* AŚ. ŚŚ. 'he hath shaped (or, shall shape) the universe.'

ito mukṣīya māmutah (ApŚ *mā pateh*) VS. ŚB ApŚ · *preto muñcāmi* (AG. ŚG. SMB. MG *muñcātu*, PG.† *muñcatu*, ApMB. *muñcāti*) *nāmutah* (ŚG. MG. SMB.† *māmutah*, PG. *mā pateh*) RV. AV. AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB MG.: cf. *mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt* (MŚ. *mā patyuh*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB. TB. TAA. Vait. LŚ MŚ. N. See §§104a, 312

The liturgical series, *vācam* (etc) *te śundhāmi*, VS 6. 14, 'I purify thy voice' etc., is paralleled by a corresponding list showing true reflexive value, *mukham śundhasva* etc Kauś 44. 19, 'purify thy mouth' etc.

āpo devīh śundhata mā...devayajyāyai MS.· *daivyāya karmane śundhadhvam devayajyāyai* VS ŚB : *śundhadhvam daivyāya karmane* (TS TB. add *devayajyāyai*) TS. MS. TB ApŚ

yad ahnāt (also, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA   *yad ahnā* (and, *rātryā*)
   pāpam akārṣam TA   MahānU   'What evil is done (I have done)
   by day (night) '   *kurute* has passive force
agne dakṣaih punīhi nah (TB   *mā*, MS   *punīmahe*) RV. MS TB   'Purify
   us', '(may) we become pure '   And similarly
brahma tena punīhi nah (LŚ. *mā*, VS   KS   *punātu mā*, MS TB   *punī-
   mahe*) RV VS KS MS. TB LŚ   *idam brahma punīmahe* TB
evam tam (ApMB   *tvam*) *garbham ā dhehi* (ApMB. *dhatsva*) RVKh
   ApMB   MG.   'Thus set thou the embryo (in her)'. 'thus set thou
   (addressing the woman) the embryo in thyself (receive the embryo) '
   See §302
madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayiṣyāmi   JB.: *madhu janiṣye* (AV.
   °*ṣīya*) AV TS. TA ŚŚ   'I shall produce honey (for myself) '
ud dharṣantām maghavan vājinām AV . *ud dharṣaya maghavann* (AV.
   satvanām) *āyudhāni* RV AV SV VS. TS   'Let strengths be
   aroused, O generous one" or, 'arouse the weapons, O generous
   one (or, the weapons of the warriors) '
tṛtīye nāke adhi vi śrayasva (and, *śrayainam*) AV. (both)   'Spread thou
   (him) out upon the third heaven '
samnahye (KS °*hya*, 2d sing act) *sukṛtāya kam* TS KS TB ApŚ MŚ
   ApMB   *samnahyasvāmṛtāya kam* AV.   Only KS has a transitive
   verb, 'gird on' (the things mentioned in the preceding pādas)
   For the others ('I gird myself', 'gird thyself'), see §308 end
aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ   *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ   The subject in
   ŚB is a king, the active form goes with the causative. 'he caused
   a sacrificial horse to be bound', i e caused the *aśvamedha* to be
   performed   In ŚŚ the subject is the priests: 'they bound a
   sacrificial horse'

§31. We group separately such interchanges of voice in *Participles*,
since they constitute, to some extent certainly, a special problem.
Renou has shown (*Valeur du parfait* 121–38) that voice in the participles
frequently seems not to run parallel to that in finite forms
parāsutṛpah śośucatah śṛnīhi AV   'destroy the fiercely burning (demons)
   that delight in (taking) life', *parāsutṛpo abhi śośucānah* (sc *śṛnīhi*)
   RV ' destroy (the demons) that delight in (taking) life, burning
   fiercely against them '   Cf Renou 128
viśvasmād iṣatah (MS *iṣamānah*)   *paridhih* TS MS KS 'the fence
   from every attacker', the MS reading (somewhat uncertain, see
   editor's note, 1 1 12: 7. 10) seems to mean 'fleeing from every
   attack '

jajñānaḥ (SV *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaiḥ* RV. SV.   In RV. *jajñānaḥ*
is absolute, 'when born'; in SV *janayan* lamely governs *sūryam*.
The interchange is of the loosest kind

§32. In one case active and middle are used in precisely the reverse
of the function to be expected

tasmai tvam stana pra pyāya ApMB 'do thou, O breast, swell for him';
tasmai stanam pra pyāyasva HG. 'do thou swell out thy breast for
him ' [But the middle seems justified, as referring to '*thy*'
breast—G M.B., approved by F. E]

§33. There are also, as noted above, a few formulas, related in con-
text, but not strictly variants of one another, which contrast the two
voices according to the same standards, the middle being reflexive or
at least intransitive, the active being transitive

divo mātrayā varinā (VS ŚB *varimnā*) *prathasra* VS TS MS KS ŚB.:
ṛṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā (VS *varimnā*)
prathantu VS. MS KS 'with the measure of heaven extend thyself
in breadth', 'the sages of yore   shall extend thee in breadth.'

dṛnha pṛthivīm PB , and *pṛthivīm dṛnha* VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB JB MG.
'make firm the earth'   *dṛnhasva pṛthivyām* VS KS ŚB. 'be firm
upon earth '

iṣe pinvasva, ūrje pinvasva VS ŚB.: *iṣam pinva, ūrjam pinva* MG

vācam me tvayi dadhāni, (response,) *vācam te mayi dadhe* KBU.   And
the same with many other nouns besides *vāc,* in a long litany.
The father says. 'Let me place my speech (etc.) in thee '   The
son replies 'I take thy speech (etc) in myself '

2. Interchange between active and middle in the same verb as part of the break-down of this distinction from earliest times

§34. In the preceding cases the varying use of the voices depends, as
a rule, on change of construction, or some imaginable difference of
attitude towards the same passage. But the bulk of the interchanges
between active and middle of the same root are in passages of identical
construction, devoid of any appreciable difference, if there is a difference
in meaning between the *voices,* it is certainly of the most tenuous kind,
and while we would not rigorously deny such possibilities here and there,
there seems no doubt that by and large they are signs of the almost
complete practical erasure of this distinction towards which the language
tends from the very beginning, from the RV on [7]

[7] Renou, *passim,* shows that a verbal system is frequently made up with one
tense of one voice and another tense of another, there being no difference of

§35. In his admirable *Wörterbuch*, Grassmann says (column 1070) under *yaj*, 'Das Medium fügt uberall die bekannte reflexive Bedeutung hinzu' BR s v. cite the scholiast to Pān 1 3 72, Vop. 23 58 to the effect that the active of *yaj* is used of the priest, the middle of the sacrificing householder (*yajanti yājakāh, yajamāno yajate*) However, both BR and Delbrück[8] recognize that this distinction is not absolute The *yaj* variants, below, show at any rate that it is not adhered to very closely in Vedic tradition. The twin of *yajati*, namely *juhoti*, which might be expected to be on all fours with *yajati*, shows scarcely, if ever, any such distinction, being generally active This may be due to the fact that *juhoti* is conceived as the function of the *hotar* The root *hū* 'call', produces only middle forms in the RV. when the present stem is *hava-*, whereas the other stems show both actives and middles This is not the place to go into an elaborate investigation of the reason why *hava-* has no actives, the variants, at any rate, show in almost every instance active forms of the other stems interchanging with middle forms of *hava-*. In general, our variants are loftily on the other side of right and wrong; the total of this evanescent distinction has broken down, almost every root showing actives in interchange with middles

§36. Occasionally attendant circumstances show which of the two voices is prior in a given variant In one case AV gives us two forms of what is essentially the same pāda: *viṣe viṣam apṛkthāh* 7. 88 1, · *aprāg api* 10. 4 26b· 'in poison thou hast (he has) mixed poison'[9] Here, in the first place, metrical considerations come in; 7 88 1 is prose, and the formula is made metrical in 10. 4 26 by the addition of the 'patch-word' *api* Aside from the question of meter, when a longer form of one voice is replaced by a shorter one of the other voice, which is then padded out by a patch-word, usually a pronoun or adverb, this latter form of the pāda invariably impresses one as secondary Other cases are·

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meaning represented in the voice distinction Even in essentially the same pāda, active and middle may be equivalent as early as RV *ajasrena śociṣā śośucac chuce* 6 48 3, *ajasreṇa śociṣā śośucānah* 7 5 4 The needs respectively of *jagatī* and *triṣṭubh* are deferred to, see *RVRep* 294, 531 Cf Renou 121ff (participles and voice)

[8] *AiSyntax 248,* so also Renou 106, 110 Delbruck 241, observes that *ci* 'pile' (bricks of the altar) exhibits regularly the same distinction, the middle being used of the sacrificer, the active of the priest

[9] [In a charm against poison, especially that of snakes, there may be in the middle a suggestion of 'for thyself', the poison being magically directed back against its emitter F E]

syonam patye (AV. *patıbhyo*) *vahatum krnuṣva* (AV. *kṛnu tvam*) RV AV.
   SMB. ApMB MG N

marutām pıtas tad aham gṛnāmı (MS *gṛne te*) TS MS : *marutām pitar
   uta tad gṛnīmah* KS

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hı*) TS MŚ

nı no rayım subhojasam yuvasva (TS *yuveha*) RV, VS TS MS KS

sa no mayobhūh pıto āvıśasva (ŚG PG SMB. [Jorgensen] *pıtav āvıśasva,*
   AŚ *pıtav āvıśeha*) TS TB AŚ ŚG SMB PG See §69.

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hvayāmı*) *śakram puruhūtam ındram*
   RV AV SV VS TS MS KS MahānU

tam manyeta (VıDh *vaı manyet*) *pıtaram mātaram ca* SamhıtopanısadB
   VāDh VıDh

Aside from such cases there are occasionally other indications as to priority which have been noted whenever they seemed sufficiently certain and not too obvious

§37. We have arranged the interchanges between active and middle in two lists In the first a given root interchanges twice or oftener; in the second only once.   We have wished in this way to separate the verbs that are more habitually free in their choice of voice from those in which the interchange may be suspected of being either accidental or solecistic. Delbruck, *AISyntax* 228ff , has collected considerable material for the use of the voices in Brāhmana prose   We have added in parentheses (D) the pages on which he comments on a large number of our roots

§38. The following is an alphabetic list of all the roots which so interchange; those which are not treated by Delbrück—a rather large number—are distinguished by italics   The two denominatives *rājaya* 'demean oneself as king', and *sukratūya* 'have superior wisdom', are not listed.

aś 'obtain'
arṣ 'move'
as 'throw'
ās 'sit'
ı+adhı 'read'
i+palā 'flee'
īr 'arouse'
edh 'prosper'
kar 'make'
kar 'praise'

kalp (caus) 'shape'
gam 'go'
gar 'praise'
gup 'protect'
gaı 'sing'
grabh 'seize'
ghuṣ 'sound'
cat (caus) 'drive off'
cı 'observe'
jan 'beget'

jı 'conquer'
juṣ 'enjoy'
tan 'extend'
tar 'cross'
dah 'burn'
dā 'give'
dī 'shine'
dī 'fly'
dīkṣ 'consecrate'
dyut 'shine'
dharṣ+ā 'dare'
dhā 'set'
dhāraya 'hold'
nam 'bend'
naś 'perish'
naś 'obtain'
nī 'lead'
nud 'expel'
pac 'cook'
parc 'mix'
pū 'purify'
bandh 'bind'
bhaj 'share'
bhar 'bear'
bhū 'be'
bhrāj 'shine'
majj 'dive'
mad 'revel'
man 'think'
muc 'release'
yaj 'revere'
yam 'hold'
yu 'unite' and 'separate'
rakṣ 'protect'
ram 'rest'
ram, rā 'give'
ruh 'grow'
rej 'tremble'

lubh 'desire'
vakṣ 'grow'
vac 'speak'
vad 'speak'
vadh 'slay'
van 'win'
vap 'throw'
vāraya 'ward off'
vart 'turn'
vardh 'grow'
vah 'carry'
valh 'ask a riddle'
vid 'obtain' and 'perceive'
viś 'enter'
vyā 'envelop'
śikṣ 'help'
śri 'set up'
śudh 'purify'
sac 'follow'
sad 'sit'
san 'be effective'
sar (caus) 'move'
sarj 'loosen'
sah 'be able'
sev+ni 'be devoted to'
stan 'thunder'
stu 'praise'
sthā 'stand'
sthāpaya 'place'
snāpaya 'cause to bathe'
svad 'taste'
svap 'sleep'
han 'slay'
hā 'leave'
hi 'incite'
hu 'sacrifice'
hū 'call'

Interchanges between active and middle which occur twice or oftener

§39. *aś* 'obtain' (D. 229)

viśvam āyur vy aśnavai (AV °*vam*) AV VS. MS. KS TB. The AV mss (19 55 6) read *aśnavat*, which Whitney (Transl) emends to *aśnavan* Cf. the parallels with active, *viśvam āyur vy aśnutah* and *aśnuvat*, and on the other hand with middle, *dīrgham āyur*. and *sarvam āyur* in Conc See §140

viśvam id dhītam (MS *dhitam*) *ānaśuḥ* (SV. *āśata*) RV. AV. SV. MS. ApŚ

yena śravānsy ānaśuḥ (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

vy aśema (SV VS *aśemahi*) *devahitam yad āyuh* RV SV VS VSK MS KS TA ApŚ NrpU. NruU MG The active is usual with prepositions, and *vy aśema* obviously prior to °*mahi*; Delbrück, *l c* . Oldenberg, *Prolegomena* 278

tenāmṛtatvam aśyām (KS PB *aśīya*) KS PB. TB. TA. ApŚ · *so 'mṛtatvam aśīya* (VSK *aśyāt*) VS. VSK. MS ŚB. ŚŚ.: *tayāmṛtatvam* (and, *tair amṛ*°) *aśīya* PB

talo mā dravinam aṣṭu (AB *āṣta*) VS. AB. ṢB ŚŚ. See §130.

§40. *īr* 'arouse'

vācaspate 'chidrayā vācāchidrayā juhvā divi devāvṛdham (ŚŚ. erroneously *devā vṛdhan*) *hotrām airayat* (KŚ *airayant*, TA. *erayasva*, ŚŚ. *airayacva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ om) ŚB TA. ŚŚ. KŚ See §248, end.

svayā tanvā tanvam airayat AV.. *svām yat tanūm tanvām airayata* MS. AA AŚ ŚŚ *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS. KSA.. *svāyām yat tanvām* (TS *tanuvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ. But *airayata* is the reading of most mss also in AV. 7. 3. 1; see Whitney.

aghāyūnām ud īrate (AŚ °*ti*) AV PB AŚ We put little faith in the Bibl Ind edition of AŚ

tām nah pūṣañ chivatamām erayasva HG.: *tām pūṣañ* (AV. °*an*) *chivatamām erayasva* RV. AV. ApMB : *sā nah pūṣā śivatamām eraya* PG.

§41. *kar* 'make' (D. 238)

ugram cettāram adhirājam akran (AV. *akrata*) RV. AV. VS TS KS. *akrata* collides with the *triṣṭubh* meter of the stanza as a whole, and Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS* 37. 264) reads *akran*

dyumantam ghoṣam vijayāya kṛnmahe (AV. *kṛnmasi*) RV. AV.

agnau kariṣye karavai karavāni (with reply: *krīyatām kuruṣva kuru*) AG *agnau karanam kariṣyāmi* MŚ *agnau kariṣyāmi* GG BDh · *agnau karavāni* ViDh Cf Stenzler's note on AG 4 7 18, Transl.

syonam patye (AV *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛnuṣva* (AV *kṛnu tvam*) RV. AV SMB ApMB MG N Besides the patch-word (cf §36),

AV is marked as secondary by dissyllabic *syonam* (the others, archaically, *sionam*)

kuru AG GG ViDh   *kuruṣva* AG YDh AuśDh BrhPDh

kuruta MS MŚ LŚ ŚG Kauś GG KhG PG HG   *om kuruta* ŚŚ AG MG   *kurudhvam* PG.

kṛṣim suśasyām ut kṛṣe (KS *kṛdhi*) MS KS MŚ   See §165

yajñapataye vasu vāryam āsamskarase ŚŚ   *yajñapataye vāryam ā sras kah* MS   *yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmai* TA.

Participles (cf §31)

punah kṛnvānā (KS *kṛnvantā*) *pitarā yuvānā* VS KS ŚB   *punah kṛnvantah pitaro yuvānah* MS.   *punah kṛnvans tvā pitaram yuvānam* TS

§41a   *gam* 'go'

juṣṭe juṣṭim te gameyam (ŚŚ °*ya*, TS '*śīya*) TS KS ŚŚ LŚ

nāpa vṛñjāte na gamāto antam AV   *nāvaprjyāte na gamāte antam* TB

§42. *gup* 'protect'

tad gopāyata (KŚ °*yadhvam*) KŚ ApŚ

tan me gopāya (Kauś °*yasva*) MS. KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś

tam gopāya (KS ŚG °*yasva*) KS AG. ŚG ApMB   *tām gopāyasva* TA

asvapnaś ca mānavadrānaś cottarato gopāyetām (KS MG *ca dakṣiṇato gopāyatām*) KS PG MG   *asvapnaś ca tvānavadrānaś ca rakṣatām* AV   See also Conc under *gopāyanś ca*, *jāgrvnś ca*, *didivnś ca*, and *gopāyamānam*   *gopāyatām* is 3d dual impv act, rather than 3d sing impv mid

§43. *grah* (*grabh*) 'seize' (D 240)

tam ātman (MS KS *ātmani*) *pari gṛhnīmahe vayam* (MS *gṛhnīmasīha*) TS MS KS

(*asyed indro madeṣv ā*) *grābham gṛbhnīta* (SV *gṛbhnāti*) *sānasim* RV SV

§44. *jan* 'beget'

surayā (MS KS *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanta* (KS † TB °*ti*) *retah* VS.† MS KS TB

hṛdā matim janaye (VS KS TB °*ya*) *cārum agnaye* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ

dyāvāpṛthivyor aham devayajyayobhayor lokayor ṛdhyāsam (KS * *devaya-jyayā prajaniṣeyam prajayā paśubhih*, KS * MŚ *devayajyayā prajaniṣīya prajayā paśubhih*) KS (bis) ApŚ MŚ   See §175

§45. *juṣ* 'enjoy' (D 229)

sa no nediṣtham (TS MS °*thā*, VS ŚB *viśvāni*) *havanāni joṣat* (TS *joṣate*, MS *havanā jujoṣa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB   On perfect active and present middle cf Renou 14, 144ff

†*viprā* (SV. *viprāya*) *gātham gāyata yaj jujoṣaṭi* (AA. °*ṣaṭ*, SV. *yaṃ jujoṣate*) SV AA ŚS

§46. *tan* 'extend' (D. 242)

bṛhaspatir yajñam imaṃ tanotu VS ŚB. LŚ : *bṛhaspatis tanutām imaṃ naḥ* TS. TB.

yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata (AV *yāś ca talnire*) AV SMB. PG ApMB. HG : *yā akṛntan yā atanvan* MG.—MG is obviously secondary, and may perhaps be a case of purely external form-assimilation *atanvan* for *atanvata* to match *akṛntan*

yunakta sīrā vi yugā tanudhram (AV TS MS. KS *tanota*) RV AV. VS TS. MS. KS ŚB

§47. *tar* 'cross'

pra candramās tirate (TS † °*ti*; AV.† °*mas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV. AV TS. MS KS N.

†*surīrābhis tirate vājabharmabhih* (SV. TS. *tarati vājakarmabhih*) RV. SV. TS. KS. See §197.

§48. *dā* 'give' (D. 242)

isam ūrjam aham ita ādam (TS ApŚ *ādade*; MS KS MŚ *ādi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ MŚ VS comm understands *ādam* as from *ad* 'eat', but the accent shows that it is from *ā + dā* 'take'. The active of *ā + dā* is rare or anomalous; cf. Delbrück.

na me tad (ApŚ. *ma idaṃ*) *upadambhiṣar dhṛṣir* (ApŚ °*bhiṣag ṛṣir* [once, erroneously, *udambhi*°]) *brahmā yad dadau* (ApŚ *dade*) MS ApŚ

§49. *di* 'shine' (only in participles; cf. §31)

ajasrena bhānunā dīdyatam (TS *dīdyānam*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB.

viśrā āsā dīdyāno (MS. KS. *dīdyad*) *vi bhāhi* VS TS. MS KS ŚB. TB
    The meter favors *dīdyāno*.

§49a. *dhā* 'set' (D. 243; cf. also Grassmann s.v.)

aṅgirasāṃ tvā devānām (ApŚ *devānāṃ vratapate*; Kauś *devānām ādityānām*) *vratenā dadhe* (ApŚ *dadhāmi*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ. Kauś · *bhṛgūṇāṃ tvāṅgirasām* (ApŚ *tvā devānām*) *vratenā dadhāmi* TB ApŚ. And similarly under *ādityānāṃ tvā devānām, indrasya tvā* etc., *manos tvā* etc , see Conc.

asmin rāṣṭra indriyam dadhāmi AB   *asmin rāṣṭre śriyam dadhe* SMB

parīdaṃ vāso adhithāh (HG. *adhidhāh*, ApMB. *adhi dhā*) *svastaye* AV. HG. ApMB   The readings of HG ApMB are obviously inferior; the sense requires a middle ('thou hast put this garment round thyself unto well-being').

ni me dhehi ni te dadhe (VSK *dadhau*) VS. VSK. TS MS KS ŚB. AŚ
    The middle is here proper, VSK. assimilates the voice to that of *dhehi*.

annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kaus   *annādam annādyāyādadhe* (KS
annādyāyānnapatyāyādadhe) TS KS · *annādam agnim anna-
patyāyādadhe* MS · *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ · *agnim
annādam unnādyāyādadhe* VS

garbham dadhāthām te vām aham dade TB. ApŚ   *reto dhattam puṣṭyai
prajananam* MŚ

pañcabhir dhātā vi dadhā (MS p p *dadhe*, TS *dadhāv*) *idam yat* (MS
om *yat*) TS MS KS.   Uncertain, because KS must, and MS
may (contrary to its p p), intend *dadhau*, like TS

vāk tvā samudra upadadhātu (ApŚ °*dhe*)   KS ApŚ   Cf §139
§50. *nam* 'bend'

sam ākūtīr namāmasi (MS *anansata*, 3 pl mid) RVKh AV MS

tasmai viśah svayam evā namante (TB °*ti*) RV TB AB

sam bāhubhyām dhamati (AV *bharati*, TS TA. *namati*, KS *namate*,
MS °*bhyām adhamat*) *sam patatraih* (KS *yajatraih*) RV AV VS
TS MS KS TA MahānU SvetU
§51. *nī* 'lead' (D 244)

agnis te 'gram nayatu TS   *agniṣ te agram nayatām* ᴹŚ

samudrasya tvākṣityā un nayāmi VS ŚB   *samudrasya vo 'kṣityā un
naye* TS MS KS. ApŚ. MS   The VS ŚB reading simulates
triṣṭubh meter, the passage is really prose

*devasya tvā savituh prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām upa
nayāmy asau* (HG. *naye 'sau*) ŚG HG   And others, see Conc.

iṣam madaniah pari gām nayadhvam (AV *nayāmah*) RV AV MG
§52. *nud* 'expel' (D 244)

nih kravyādam nudāmasi (MS *nudasva*) AV MS

agniṣ ṭān asmāt pra ṇunottu lokāt MŚ · *agniṣ tān* (VS *tān*, AŚ *tāl*)
lokāt pra nudāty (AŚ *nudātv*, SMB. *nudatv*) *asmāt* VS ŚB AŚ
ApŚ SMB . *agne tān asmāt pra nudasva lokāt* ApŚ
§53. *pac* 'cook' (D 245)

ity apacah TB ApŚ . *ity apacathāh* MŚ

varūtrayo janayas tvā   pacantūkhe TS   *varūtrī* (and, *varu*°) *tvā* ..
pacatām ukhe MS   *janayas tvā   pacantūkhe* VS MS KS ŚB
§54. *bandh* 'bind' (D 245)

mitras tvā padi badhnātu (VS ŚB *badhnītām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB
ApS

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ *māba*°, TS ApMB* *yam abadhnīta*) *savitā suśevah*
(AV °*vāh*, TS ApMB * *suketah*) RV. AV TS ApMB (bis)
KŚ.

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ   on this see §30,
end

§55. *bhar* 'bear' (D 230)

tatra rayisthām anu sambharaitam (MŚ °*retām*, 3 du impv mid.) TB
ApŚ MŚ. (In TB. ApŚ *sambhara—etam*)

(*ud u tvā viśve devā) agne bharantu* (MS also *bharanta) cittibhih* VS. TS.
MS. KS ŚB. See §156

§56. *bhū* 'be, become'

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °*yāv) abhūtām* (MS °*thōm) MS KS.
TB ApŚ —MS. (2 du mid) is probably only an error for 3 du.
act °*tām*, mechanically influenced by the parallel form *ārabhethām;*
see §§337 and 21.

yathāgnir akṣito 'nupadasta vvam mahyam pitre 'kṣito 'nupadasta (HG.
°*tah) svadhā bhava* (HG *bhavatām) ApMB. HG And the same
with *yathā vāyur , yathādityo* See §329

§57. *bhrāj* 'shine'

sa yathā tvam bhrājatā bhrājo 'sy evāham bhrājatā bhrājyyāsam AV : *sa
yathā tvam bhrājyā bhrājasa evam aham bhrājyyā bhrājiṣīya* MS

mahi bhrājante (TS MS. KS °*ty) arcayo vibhāvaso* RV. SV. VS TS.
MS KS ŚB On the evidence of RV. (see Grassmann) the middle
present is prior to the active. See also Whitney, *Roots* s.v., and
Oldenberg, *Proleg* 309

§58. *mad* 'revel'

hotā yakṣad aśvinau somānām pibatu madantāṁ vyantu MS.:. .
vyantu pibantu madantu (form-assimilation) AŚ. The KS parallel
lacks any form of *mad*

pibantu madantu (MS °*tām) vyantu* (TB. *viyantu somam) VS MS TB.
Cf prec

yatrā (TA *yatra) suhārdah sukṛto madanti* (TA. °*te) AV. TA.

§59. *muc* 'release' (D. 247)

yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (TA *mumoca) MS TA. *amoci* must be
interpreted as 3d person middle, not passive.

Participles (cf. §31) ·

pramuñcamānā (AV °*canto) bhuvanasya retah* AV TS KS. ApŚ.
MŚ

§60. *yaj* 'revere' (D 248), see §35 above

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yaksi (KS TS TB '*yāt) VS TS. KS ŚB.
TB , *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS KS See §266.

agne devānām ava heda iyaksva (KS *ikṣva) KS ApŚ . *ava devānām yaja
hedo agne* (KS *yaje hidyāni; MŚ *yaje hedyāni) AV KS MŚ Cf.
ava devān yaje hedyān TB ApŚ

sarvān apa yajāmasi Kauś *sarvān ava yajāmahe* KS†. TB TAA ApŚ.

asau yaja AŚ. *asau yajate* LŚ

mahyam yajantu (AV KS °*ntām*) *mama yāni havyā* (AV KS *yānīṣṭā*)
RV AV TS KS

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hi*) TS MŚ   See §36

yasmād yoner udārithā (KS °*tha*) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *tam* RV VS
TS MS KS. ŚB

§61. *yam* 'hold' (D 248)

yachantām pañca VS ŚB KŚ ApŚ · *yachantu pañca* MS . *yachantu*
tvā pañca KS

gharmasyaikā savitaikām ni yachati (MS KS °*te*, PG °*tu*) TS MS KS
PG

§62. *yu* 'separate' and 'unite' (D 249)

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (HG *yūdhvam*) ApŚ MŚ HG · *mā vo*
(AŚ *no*) '*to 'nyat pitaro yoyuvata* (AŚ *yuñgdhvam*) AŚ Kauś

ni no rayim subhojasam yuvasva (TS *yuveha*) RV VS TS MS KS. Cf.
Delbruck, *l c* , and §36 above

§63. *rakṣ* 'protect' (D 250)

agne havyam rakṣasva (VS ŚB *rakṣa*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB
MŚ

viṣṇo havyam rakṣasva (VS ŚB *rakṣa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
MŚ.

vratam rakṣanti viśvahā AV   *vratā rakṣante viśvāhā* RV   The AV
reading is in every way secondary, cf the formulas *vratā rakṣante*
in Conc.

§64. *vad* 'speak' (D 252)

achāvāka vadasva (MŚ. *vada*) AŚ ŚŚ MŚ   *achāvāka vadasva yat te*
vādyam AB KB ŚB KŚ ApŚ

avapatantīr avadan RV VS TS MS KS   *avayatīh sam avadanta* VSK
pippalyah samavadanta AV   Here the preposition *sam* is, of
course, concerned in the use of the middle, which might perhaps
better be placed in §30

satyam vadiṣyāmi (TA * *vadiṣye*) TA (bis) TU ŚG MG

§65. *var* (caus *vāraya*) 'hold in, hold off' (D 230)

antar evoṣmānam vārayadhvāt (MS TB *vārayatāt*, but most mss and
p p of MS °*dhvāt*) MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ

varano vārayātai AV   *varano vārayiṣyate* AV   *varuno* (Poona ed
_ *varano*) *vārayāt* TA   See §171

§66. *vart* 'turn' (D 235)

ime jīvā vi mṛtair āvavṛtran (TA *āvavartin¹*) RV AV TA AG   The
monstrous form is found in both edd of TA , text and comm ,

comm. glosses by *āvṛtlāh*.   It can only be felt as a wholly anomalous
3d plural impf act.

rtenāsya nivartaye (MŚ °*ya*), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ °*ya*) TB. ApŚ.
MŚ. See §116.

§67. *vah* 'carry' (D. 253)

ta ā vahanti (MS *tayāvahante*) *kavayah purastāt* TS MS. TB.

jātavedo vahemam (ŚŚ. *vahasvainam*) *sukṛtām yatra lokah* (TA. *lokāh*)
TA. ŚŚ   The reading of ŚŚ. is obviously secondary.

ayasā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ ApMB HG.· *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ. *ayāh san*,
and so ApMB. comm explains; KS *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyam*)
havyam ūhiṣe MS KS TB. AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB. HG.: *ayā
no yajñam vahāsi* KŚ.   See §140

§68. *vid* 'obtain' and 'perceive' (D. 253)

videya TS KS AŚ ApŚ . *videyam* KS. ŚŚ. ApŚ *videya* TS is in same
passage as *videyam* ŚŚ

brāhmanam adya videyam (VSK. °*ya*)   VS. VSK. ŚB.

tat puruṣāya (MahānU * °*ṣasya*) *vidmahe* MS KS TA. MahānU :
puruṣasya vidma sahasrākṣasya TA   (immediately preceding the
other form)

tasya vittāt (MS *vitsva*) TS MS KS : *etasya vittāt* VS. ŚB.   'Take note
of that '

mā jñātāram mā pratiṣṭhām vidanta (AG † *vindantu*) AV. AG

§69. *viś* 'enter' (D 253)

ny anyā arkam abhito viviśre (AV '*viśanta*, JB *viviśyuh*) RV. AV. JB.
ŚB. AA.

sa no mayobhūh pito āviśasva (ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] *pitav āviśasva;*
AŚ *pitav āviśeha;* MŚ *pitur āviveśa*) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB.
PG : *sa nah pito* (!) *madhumān ā viveśa* Kauś . *sa nah pito ma-*
dhumān ā viśeha KS   See §§139,332, on perfect active and present
middle, Renou 14, 144ff

Participles (cf §31)

viśo-viśah praviśvānsam īmahe AV · *viśvasyām viśi praviviśivānsam*
(KS † *praviviśānam*) *īmahe* TS MS KS   See §273

§70. *vyā* 'envelop' (D 254)

asmai devā amṛtāh (AV °*tam*) *sam vyayantām* (AV °*ntu*) AV TS MS.
ApMB

tās tvā devīr (SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG °*sā*) *sam vyayantu*
(PG *vyayasva*) SMB PG HG ApMB MG · *tās tvā jarase sam*
vyayantu AV   Stenzler, Transl of PG 1 4 13, takes PG. to be a
mere corruption, at a pinch it could perhaps be rendered 'wrap

thyself in these goddesses unto old age', with distinct middle force, belonging then with the preceding section

§71. śudh 'purify, be pure'

yad vo 'śuddhāh parā jaghnur etc , see §30

yat te krūram   tat te śudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām,* MS *tad etena śundhasva*) VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ   Here both verbs are middle in force, or, more strictly, *śudhyatu* is properly a passive, made into an active intransitive by change from middle to active ending, see §§82, 30

§72. śri 'set up' (D 255)

vāk patamgāya śiśriye TS   *vāk patamgo aśiśriyat* (KS °*gā aśiśrayuh*) AV KS   See §219

yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte (AV °*ti,* ApMB HG *risrayātai*) RV AV ApMB HG   See §253

§73. sad 'sit' (D 230)

tisro devīr barhir edam sadantu (AV °*tām*) RV AV VS TS KS

sarasvatī (AV °*tīh*) *svapasah sadantu* (AV °*tām*) RV AV VS MS KS TB N

§74. sarj 'loosen' (D 255f)

tena mām indra sam srja (MŚ *srjasva*) TS TB MŚ

rāyas poṣena sam srja (MG *srjasva*) AV VS TS MS KS ApŚ SMB MG   In this and the prec *srjasva* in the cadence is bad

vi (MS KS *pra*) *parjanyah* (RV °*yam,* TS °*yāh*) *srjanti* (MS KS *srjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS

pāvamānasya tvā stomena   vīryenot srje MS   *pātamānena tvā stomena vīryena devas tvā savitot srjatu* TS

§75. stu 'praise' (D 257)

indravanta (AB °*tah*) *stuta* (AB *studhvam*) AB GB Vait

stuta Vait MŚ   *om stuta* ŚŚ ApŚ   *studhvam* AŚ   *om studhvam* AŚ

indro vide tam u stuhi (AA *stuṣe*) AA   Mahānāmnyah   See §165

§76. sthā 'stand' (D 257)

śivo me saptarṣīn (KŚ MŚ *sapta ṛṣīn*) *upa tiṣṭhasva* (Vait MŚ *tiṣṭhā*) TS Vait KŚ MŚ

yāvac ca sapta sindhavo vitasthire (TS °*tasthuh*) TS VS   *yāvat sapta sindhavo vitaṣṭhire* AV.

yenaiṣa bhūtas tiṣṭhaty (MahānU *bhūtais tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā* TA. MahānU

kṣuttṛṣṇābhyām tam yo gām vikṛntantam mānsam bhikṣamāna upatiṣṭhate TB   *kṣudhe yo gām vikṛntantam bhikṣamāna upatiṣṭhati* VS.

caus *sthāpaya* 'place' (cf D 257)

ā mātarā sthāpayase jigatnū RV AV.. *āsthāpayata mātaram jigatnum* AV.

§77. *hu* 'sacrifice'

pra tve havīnṣi juhure (KS *juhumas*) *samıddhe* (MS. *tve samiddhe juhure havīnṣı*) RV VS TS MS. KS ŚB   But *juhure* may be passive, with *havīnṣı* as subject, so Grassmann.

indrāya devebhyo juhutā (ApŚ *juṣatām;* MŚ. *juhutām*) *havıh svāhā* PB. KŚ ApŚ MŚ

§78. *hū* 'call' (D 261)

huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU. *hvayāmı*) *śakram puruhūtam ındram* RV. AV SV VS. TS MS KS. MahānU.

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe;* KS. *johavīmı*) RVKh AV. TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ : *sarasvantam avase johavīmı* RV.   The AV readıng ıntroduces a *jagatī* pāda ınto an otherwıse *triṣṭubh* stanza, whıle KS. ıs a bad *trıṣṭubh* contaminated from the two other readıngs.   (Delete reference to KS 19. 14d ın Conc. under *sarasvantam,* and add *bıs* to thıs reference undèr the other)

agnım (MahānU. *ugram,* AV *ukthaır*) *huvema* (AV. *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV. TA   MahānU.   The AV. readıng ıs metrıcally bad

ṛtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) AV. VS TS. KS. MS AŚ. ŚŚ   The stanza ıs otherwıse *trıṣṭubh*

prātarjıtam bhagam ugram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV VS TB. ApMB N   As ın prec , *trıṣṭubh* stanza.

prātah somam uta rudram huvema (AV *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS TB. ApMB   Here, on the contrary, the rest of the stanza ıs *jagatī,* and AV makes thıs pāda fit ıts context metrıcally.

havante vājasātaye RV.· *huveya vā°* RV. AV : *huvema vā°* RV. SV MS. KS

§79. *Interchanges between active and mıddle whıch occur only once*

arṣ 'move' (D. 233) *marya ıva yuvatıbhıh sam arṣatı* (AV. *ıva yoṣāh sam arṣase*) RV SV. AV.   The AV. readıng ıs bad ın meter and sense

as 'throw' (D. 237) *ayam yajamāno mṛdho vyasyatām* (AŚ *vyasyatu*) TB. AŚ ApŚ

ās + upa 'revere' (cf D. 233) *brahmaıtad upāsvaıtat* (MahānU. *upāsyaıtat*) *tapah* TA   MahānU.   But Poona ed of TA as MahānU., v l. *upāsvaı°*   See §195

ı + adhı 'read' (D 237) *adhīhı bhoh* AG ŚG. GG KhG HG GDh. ApDh RVPrātıśākhya 15 2 *adhīsva bhoh* MDh AuśDh

i + *palā* 'flee' *palāyiṣyamānāya svāhā* TS   *palāyiṣyate svāhā* KS
    Participles

edh 'prosper' (D 229) *athāsyai* (TS. MS TB *°syā*) *madhyam edhatām*
    (Vait *°tu*, AŚ LŚ *ejatu*, ŚŚ *ejati*) VS TS MS ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ
    Vait LŚ   *adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA

kar 'praise' *sacāyor indraś carkṛṣa* (3d sing pres intensive mid) *ā*
    RV   *sadā va indraś carkṛṣad ā* SV. See Grassmann s v. *kṛ*, and
    Oldenberg *RVNoten* 2 325

kalp, caus *kalpaya* 'shape' (cf D 234) *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV *°vah*)
    kalpayasva (AV VS *kalpayāti*) RV AV VS

gar 'praise'· *marutām pitar uta tad gṛṇīmah* KS   *marutām pitas tad*
    aham gṛṇāmi (MS *gṛne te*) TS MS

gai 'sing' (D. 240) *rājānam samgāyata* (PG *°gāyetām*) ŚG PG

ghuṣ 'sound'. *devaśrutau deveṣv ā ghoṣethām* (VS ŚB *ghoṣatam*) VS. TS
    MS KS ŚB. MŚ

cat, caus 'drive off' (cf D 231) *ghoṣenāmīvāṃś cātayata* (PB *°mīvān*
    cātayadhvam) PB TB ApŚ

ci 'observe'. *cakṣuṣā ni cikīṣate* (MS *°ti*) VS TS MS KS ŚB.

ji 'conquer' (D 241)· *ity amum samgrāmam ahan* (MŚ *ajayathāh*, ŚB
    ajayat) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

dah 'burn' (D 242) *ā te yatante rathyo yathāpṛthak, śardhānsy agne*
    ajarāni (SV *ajarasya*) *dhakṣatah* (ApŚ *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV MS
    ApŚ See §§27, 250.

dī 'fly' *parṇavīr iva dīyati* (SV *°te*) RV SV.

dīkṣ 'consecrate' (D 234)· *agnir dīkṣitah pṛthivī dīkṣā sā mā dīkṣā*
    dīkṣayatu (JB *dīkṣeta*) *tayā dīkṣayā dīkṣe* JB ApŚ   And others,
    see §160 The active is better, note the medio-passive *dīkṣe* follow-
    ing in both texts

dyut 'shine'. *sam sūryena rocate* (SV *didyute*) RV SV VS MS ŚB
    TA   *sam sūryena didyutad udadhir nidhih* VS

dhar, *dhāraya* 'hold' *soma* (MS *somā*) *indro varuno mitro agnis te devā*
    dharmadhṛto dharmam dhārayantu (KS *°tām te 'smai vācam suvan-
    tām*) MS KS

dharṣ 'dare'· *nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate* (AA *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ *dadharṣayā*)
    śavah AV AV ŚŚ   'He is not to be dared against, his might dares '
    See Whitney on AV 6 33 2 and Keith on AA 5 2 3 1   ŚŚ
    seems to intend a perfect from caus , in sense of primary

naś 'perish' *alakṣmī me nasyatu* (MahānU *°ta*) TA MahānU   cf
    alakṣmir me naśyatām   RVKh See under *bhaj*, below

naś 'attain' *madhvā yajñam nakṣati* (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV
    prai°) AV VS TS MS KS

parc 'mix': *viṣe viṣam apṛkthāḥ* (and, *aprāg api*) AV. (both).   See §36.

palāya 'flee': see *i + palā.*

pū 'purify' (D. 234, 245) *tat punīdhvam* (and, *punīdhvam ca*) *yavā mama* ViDh : *sarvam punatha me yavāḥ* BDh.: *sarvam punatha* (ViDh *punīta*) *me pāpam* BDh ViDh.

bhaj 'share' (D. 246). *śrī me bhajata* MahānU · *śrīr me bhajatu* TA. Comm on MahānU : *lakṣmīr mahyam bhajatv ity arthaḥ.*   See *naś* 'perish', above.

majj 'dive' (D 232). *upamaṅkṣyati syā* (ŚŚ. °*maṅkṣye 'ham*) *sahlasya madhye* ŚB ŚŚ : *nimaṅkṣye 'ham sahlasya madhye* AB

man 'think' (D. 234)· *tam manyeta* (ViDh *vai manyet*) *pitaram mātaram ca* SamhitopB. VāDh ViDh N

ram 'rest' (D 250): *iha rama* (SMB *ramasva*) MS. AB AŚ. ApŚ. SMB HG · *iha ramatām* VS ŚB HG.   Note that HG. 1. 12. 2 has *rama* and *ramatām* side by side   VS. comm *iha bhavān ramatām.*

rā (ram) 'give'. *na pāpatvāya rāsīya* (SV. *raṅsiṣam*) RV. AV. SV.   See §174

rājaya (denom) 'be king' (cf. D 232): *adhirājo rājasu rājayātai* (TS. °*ti*, MS. *rājayate*) AV. TS. MS   See §117

ruh 'grow'. *vayā vānu rohate* (KS. °*ti*) RV KS ApŚ. MŚ . *vayā vānu rohate juṣanta yat* RV.

rej 'tremble': *arejetām* (TB. *arejayatām*) *rodasī pājasā girā* RV. TB.   See §241

lubh 'desire' (D 232). *yan me mātā pralulubhe* (ApMB. HG.° *lulobha;* ApŚ °*mamāda*) ApŚ ŚG ApMB. HG. MDh.

vakṣ 'grow'· *deva somaisa te lokas tasmiñ cham ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva* (VSK *lokah pari ca vakṣi śam ca vakṣi,* ŚBK. *tasmiñ cham pari ca vakṣi sam ca vakṣi*) VS VSK ŚB ŚBK   See §164

vac 'speak' (D 251) *pra tad voced* (TA MahānU *voce*) *amṛtam nu* (AV. *amṛtasya*) *vidvān* AV VS TA MahānU.   But the form *voce* is highly questionable; see § 174

vadh 'slay' (D. 232): *indriyam me vīryam mā nir vadhīḥ* (MŚ. *vadhiṣṭa*) TS. MŚ

van 'win' *daivyā hotāro* (TS °*rā*) *vanuṣanta* (TS *vani*°) *pūrve*· (KS † *vaniṣan na etat*) RV TS KS   Cf *daivā hotāraḥ saniṣan na etat* AV

vap 'throw' (D 252) *pratiprasthātaḥ savanīyān nir vapa* (MŚ *vapasva*) ApŚ MŚ

vardh 'grow' (D 253) *avīvṛdhat* (VSK *avīvṛdhata*) *purodāśena* (VSK. *purol*°) VS VSK   Cf *avīvṛdhanta* etc in Conc

valh 'ask a riddle'. *etad brahmann upavalhāmasi* (AŚ *apa°*, LŚ *upabalh-hāmahe*) *tvā* VS AŚ ŚŚ LŚ

śikṣ 'help' *indro yajvane pṛnate ca śikṣati* (AV *gṛnate ca śikṣate*) RV AV TB

sac 'follow' (D 230) *anyavratasya* (TA *anyad vratasya*) *saścima* (RV *saścire*, TA *saścimah*) RV VS MS ŚB TA Read *saścima* in TA §262, c

san 'be effective' (D 233) *aryo naśanta saniṣanta* (SV † *nas santu saniṣantu*) *no dhiyah* RV SV See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

sar 'move' (caus): *tā ubhau* (TS MS. KSA ApŚ *tau saha*) *caturah padah sam prasārayāva* (TS KSA ApŚ *°yāvahai*, MS *°yāvah*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB ApŚ

sah 'be able' *pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV AV . *pra sakṣati pratimānam pṛthivyāh* AV

sukratūya 'have excellent wisdom' (denom) *vartir yajñam pariyan sukratūyase* (KS *°si*) RV KS

sev 'be devoted to' · *gṛdhrah suparnah kunapam ni ṣevati* (TA † *ṣevase*) MS TA

stan 'thunder' (D 232) *pra te divo na stanayanti śuṣmāh* (MS *°yanta śuṣmaih*) RV TS MS

snā 'bathe', caus (D 232) *prasnāpayanty ūrminam* RV *prasnāpayanta ūrmayah* SV Benfey, Transl 270a, 'waves bathed' (soma) The SV passage is thoroly secondary, its comm , as quoted by Benfey, suggests that *ūrmayah* stands for acc sing *ūrmim*, the subject being preempted by *svasārah* But it may be taken as an additional, asyndetic subject: 'the fingers (and) the waves wash (soma)'. ' Benfey's 'imperfect' is a slip for present

svad 'taste' (D 230) *havyā te svadantām* (MS *svadan*, and once—erroneously?—*svadam*, KS *asvadan*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

svap 'sleep' (D 236) *ūrdhvas tiṣthan mā divā svāpsīh* Kauś *mā divā suṣupthāh* (SMB GG HG *svāpsīh*) ŚG SMB GG PG HG *mā suṣupthāh* ŚB ApMB *divā mā svāpsīh* AG

han 'slay' (D 259) *jaghanān upa jighnate* (MS *°tu*, p p *°ti*) RV VS TS MS KSA

hā 'leave' (D 234). *ni vo jāmayo jihatā* (ŚŚ *jihatām*) *ny ajāmayah* KB AŚ ŚŚ

hi 'incite' *ṛtasya yonau* (RV *yonā*) *mahiṣā ahinvan* (RV *ahcṣata*) RV TS KS ApMB

KS   *ād ıt pṛthwī ghṛlaır vy udyate* TS : cf. *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthıvī vy undhı* (KS *vyundan*) RV KS.

the solitary active of AV. ıs clearly secondary, patterned after RV 5 83 8.

Thus also ın the followıng, the (medıo-?) passıve of RV ıs superıor to TA's actıve.

ā gharmo agnım ṛtayann asādı (TA *asādīt*) RV TA . *ā gharmo agnır amṛto na sādı* MS   We agree wıth Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 5 43 7, ın consıderıng the TA varıant 'meanıngless' for the RV , agaınst Neısser (*BB* 30 305) who finds ıt ımportant and would ınterpret *asādı* as a mıddle, cf. our footnote 10 above, whıch shows that the mıddle ınterpretatıon of the word ıs *per se* quıte possıble

§85. The remaınıng cases ınvolve occasıonally dırect transmutatıons of one voıce ınto the other, but for the most part the ınterrelatıons are of a looser kınd, ın whıch actıve ın one versıon and passıve ın the other are not dırectly convertıble

rajatā harınīh sīsā (MS *rajatāh sīsā harınīr*), *yujo yujyante* (MS *yuñjan-*
    tu) karmabhıh VS TS MS KSA

yat svapne annam aśnāmı AV   *yad annam adyate naktam* (HG *sāyam*)
    ApŚ HG

stṛnantı (RV * *stṛnīta*, RV * AV *tıstıre*) *barhır ānuṣak* RV (all three)
    AV SV VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ N *tıstıre* ıs passıve

yenākṣā (ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*, SMB *yenākṣān*, PG *yenākṣyāv*) *abhyaṣıcyanta*
    (ŚŚ SMB *abhyaṣıñcatam*, PG *°tām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG   See
    §332   Subject ıs Aśvıns, except ın AV , where the verse ıs addrest
    to them too, but turned ınto passıve constructıon wıth subject
    akṣāh

varca ā dhehı me tanvam (KS *dhāyı me tanūh*) AV KS

satyam ṛte 'dhāyı (TB *dhāyı*, but Poona ed *'dhāyı* here and ın next, TS
    KSA *'dhām*) TS KSA TB ApŚ

ṛtam satye 'dhāyı (TB , see prec , TS KSA *'dhām*), same texts

mayı dhāyı (MS *dhehı*) *suvīryam* MS TB TA

abhıramantu bhavantah VıDh   *abhıramyatām* (MŚ *°thām*) MŚ ŚG
    YDh BrhPDh

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthıvī pūryethām VS ŚE   *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthıvī ā pṛne-*
    thām (MS MŚ *pṛna*, LŚ *prīnāthām svāhā*) TS MS KS LŚ
    ApŚ MŚ

maıṣām kam canoc chıṣah TS TB ApŚ   *maıṣām uc cheṣı kım cana* AV
    māmīṣām kam canoc chıṣah RV SV VS   *māmīṣām mocı laś cana*
    AV

paramena paśunā krīyase (MS *krīyasva*) VS MS KS ŚB . *taṣyās te sahasraposam puṣyantyāś caramena paśunā krīnāmi* TS

pra tve havīnṣi juhure (juhumas) , see §77. *juhure* either mid. or pass

tat striyām anu ṣicyate (ŚG *ṣiñcatu*) AV ŚG

saha dharmam cara (GDh. *dharmaś caryatām*) GDh. NāradaDh.· *saho-bhau caratām dharmam* MDh

asmin goṣtha upa pṛñca nah AV . *āsu goṣūpa prcyatām* RV. TB. LŚ. The AV is secondary in various ways, see Whitney on 9. 4. 23

tan me 'rādhi (Kauś *rāddham*) VS TS TA. Kauś *tenārātsyam* (ŚŚ. MŚ GG. °*rātsam*) MS ŚŚ MŚ GG See §248

dadato me mā kṣāyi (GB. Vait *me mopadasah*, MS. °*sat*) TS. MS. KS. GB. TB Vait ApŚ.

ajany agnir hotā (ApŚ. *ajann agnih*) *pūrvah pūrvebhyah pavamānah pāvakaś śucir* (ApŚ. *śucih pāvaka*) *īdyah* KS ApŚ. Cf. Delbruck, *AISyntax* 266

§86. A couple of cases, finally, concern interchange of active and passive participles, as stated above, we shall deal later with the more numerous instances of interchange between participles and finite verbs

tantum tanvan (KS *tatam*) *rajaso bhānum anv ihi* RV. TS KS. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ AG HG

harṣamānāso dhṛṣitā (TB. °*atā*) *marutvah* RV. TB N. *dhṛṣatā* is an adverbial instrumental of the present participle.

4 Interchange between passive and middle

§87. This group exhibits interestingly a few cases in which the medio-passive value of *ātmanepada* forms, quite clear by themselves, is, as it were, glossed by corresponding passive forms Thus, twice, the medio-passive *amukthāh* varies with *amoci*, or *bhakṣyamānah* (*bhakṣamānah*) with *bhaktah* Note Delbruck's remark on *amoci*, op cit. 266, and, more generally, 263 ff A few cases of this sort are unreliable on account of the phonetic uncertainty of *y* in combination with two other conso-nants, such as *vṛścantām* and *vṛścyantām*, the former of which may in reality be equal to *vṛścyantām*, cf §§27, 28

mā prnan pūrīyā vi rādhiṣta (TS *rādhi*) TS MS KS

amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād duritād avartyai* (AV *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB.

Followed by.

druhah pāśān nirṛtyai codamoci TB ApMB *druhah pāśād grāhyāś*

codamukthāh AV   Cf Delbruck, op cit. 266   Both here and in
   the prec Ppp has *amoci*, but see §329

sam barhir aktam (VS ŚB *añktām*) *haviṣā ghṛtena* AV VS ŚB   *sam
   añktām ba° ha° ghṛ°* TB ApŚ   See §144

vājino vājajito vājam   bhāgam avajṛghrata ni mṛjānāh (KS *bhāge
   nimṛjatām,* TS *bhāge ni mṛddhvam*) VS TS KS ŚB   *vājinau
   vājajitau vājam jitvā bṛhaspater bhāge nimṛjyethām* MS   The last
   phrase means. 'Be ye (ye two) cleansed', or 'being cleansed' (mid
   participle in VS ŚB), or 'let them be cleansed' Only MS
   has a definitely passive form, the rest have middles substantially
   in passive sense

ā vṛścyantām (AV *vṛścantām*) *aditaye durevāh* RV AV   See §28

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā pṛnethām (MS MŚ *pṛna,* LŚ *prīnāthām svāhā*)
   TS MS KS. LŚ ApŚ MŚ   *ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī pūryethām* VS
   ŚB   The contrast between *pṛnethām* and *pūryethām* brings this
   variant in here, cf §85

svāhā marudbhih (MS MŚ *°bhyah*) *pariśrayasva* (VS ŚB *°śrīyasva*)
   VS MS ŚB MŚ TA KŚ   *marudbhih pariśrīyasva* ŚB   'Hail,
   be encompassed (encompass thyself) with (for) the Maruts '

na karmanā lipyate pāpakena ŚB TB BrhU BDh 'he is not stained
   by evil action' *na karma lipyate nare* VS ĪśāU 'action does not
   stick to a man '   The latter shows *lipyate* middle in form but almost
   transitive in meaning (governing *nare*)

   Participles

bhakṣo bhakṣyamānah (KS ms *bhakṣa°*) VS KS   Cf *bhakṣah pītah*
   VSK   *bhakṣa āgatah* TS   See §27

jajñānā (SV *yā jātā*) *pūtadakṣasā* RV SV

nirṛtyai parividdāna-n (TB *parivittam*), and, *ārtyai parivittam* (TB.
   parividdānam) VS TB   Exchange between the two equivalent
   participles

[*samjihānāya svāhā* TS KSA   Conc quotes *samjihitāya* for KSA]

CHAPTER III   THE MOODS

Observations on the scope and character of modal interchanges

§88   In the midst of the variations which concern the verb change of mood looms as the most constant and important   Any mood may be supplanted by any other—*bellum omnium contra omnes*—in most cases, apparently, without any clear change of meaning   If there is any psychological shift of attitude in these changes, that shift is at the most and solely due to an arbitrary change in the appraisal of the original mood   Granted that the moods really expressed different values, there is no conceivable motive for the mass of these changes, except the subjective feeling of the repeater or reciter of the second form   Of course this does not exclude the possibility of an occasional imitation of a related expression which has come to the mind of the repeater   But it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that independent changes of the repeater's mood are, in the main, and in varying degrees, at the bottom of this unbridled variety, tho such an assumption is, in the circumstances, the purest kind of argument in a circle   In any case the frequency of these changes testifies eloquently to that genuine instability in the use of moods which characterizes Hindu speech at least up to the time of the modern vernaculars   And because they concern all moods, the following pages are a kind of negative syntax of the ancient Sanskrit moods   Needless to say, the conditions described in this chapter happen to be unparalleled in the history of recorded literature and speech. A preliminary selection from them was published by Bloomfield in *AJP* 33 1 ff

§89   The interest of these interchanges is greatly enhanced by the uncommonly large formal apparatus for expressing mood which is at the disposal of the Vedic language   This apparatus is considerably larger than that of Classical Sanskrit, and, we believe, than that of any other Indo-European language   The following forms carry with them modal value, under circumstances to be dealt with in detail later on, in various ways and various degrees they interchange with one another.

1 Present Indicative

2 Various Preterite Indicatives, notably Aorist, also predicative Past Passive Participles

3 Imperative (including those in *tāt*)

4. Imperatival forms in *si* and (?) *se*
5 Subjunctive
6 Mixed Imperative-Subjunctive forms
7 Injunctive
8 Optative
9 Precative
10 Future
11. Desiderative
12 Infinitive

The rôle of the last two of these twelve classes is unimportant and, as regards strict modal quality, somewhat dubious This still leaves ten modal categories whose interrelations are the theme of the following pages.

§90 Before entering upon a detailed discussion of the modal inter-changes as between two or more different texts, there are three preliminary matters which substantiate this instability, and lend atmosphere to the subject as a whole First, one and the same text sometimes varies its mood in what may be regarded as a repetition of the same passage. Secondly, the interchanges in different texts sometimes, and not rarely, bring in three or even more different moods Thirdly, change of tense goes along with change of mood without, again, affecting the resulting meaning Related with the last class are the numerous cases in which different tense-forms of the same mood interchange, again without the least indication of difference in function, see §§208 ff.

Interchange of moods in passages repeated in the same text

§91. Any single Vedic text is likely to show iteration on an extensive scale (cf. Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 31. 49 ff). In these repeated passages the mood may be changed, either, apparently, for no other than subjective reason, or because of some external circumstance provoked by the technique of the text in question Thus the RV .

ādityair no aditih śarma yansat 1. 107 2, 4 54 6,
ādityair no aditih śarma yachatu 10 66 3,

'Aditi, together with the Ādityas, shall offer us protection ' *yansat* is aorist subjunctive, *yachatu* present imperative, cf the same relation between RV 10 128 8a and AV. 5 3 8a, and see §106 for the frequent interchange between the stems *yacha* and *yans* in general   The motive of the variation is metrical   The first verse is *triṣṭubh*, the second *jagatī*   To see any other reason for the change would be sheer hair-splitting, one sentence says exactly the same as the other.

§92 The same criterion governs the choice of *kṛdhi*, aorist imperative, and *kah*, aorist injunctive in the two RV. pādas:

asmabhyam indra varivah sugam kṛdhi 1 102 4,

asmabhyam mahi varivah sugam kah 6 44 18

See *RVRep.* 530.—Also in the following, both in KS

vācaspatir vācam nah svadatu 15 11,

vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti nah 13 14

The first phrase is prose, the second receives a *jagatī* cadence   See §104, p

§93 Only in a partial or one-sided way, if at all, can metrical convenience be assigned as a ground for the following variation

suvedā no vasū kṛdhi RV 7 32 25,

suvedā no vasū karat RV 6 48 15

'Make (let him make) wealth easy for us to get ' *kṛdhi* is aor impv., *karat* aor subj , there is no reason why the poet of 7 32 25 should not have used *karah* to match *karat*, but as to 6 48 15 it may be observed that the meter would oppose the use of the aor impv **kartu*, mixed aor subj -impv *karatu*, or pres impv. *kṛnotu* or *karotu*

§94 In passages repeated in the same vicinity, we find modal variations which appear to be due simply to the stylistic urge for variety, the change is for its own sake   This is prettily ill strated in the following RV. instance

jeṣah svarvatīr apah 1 10. 8c,

jeṣat svarvatīr apah 8 40 10,

ajaih svarvatīr apah 8 40 11.

'Thou shalt conquer (hast conquered, he shall conquer) the waters rich in light ' In 8 40 10 we have a secondary repetition with change of person of 1 10 8c, in the next verse this is deliberately modulated by substitution of the aor indic for subj   See *RVRep* 39 —Similarly,

jyok pitṛṣv āstām AV 1 14 1, 'long may she sit among the fathers', is modulated in vs 3 of the same hymn to

jyok pitṛṣv āsātai,

with subj for impv , which means exactly the same thing, it may also have been felt as improving the meter

Here may likewise be recorded *abhi prayo nāsatyā vahanti* (6 63 7 °*tu*) RV 1 118 4, 6 63 7   For in pāda a of 1 118 4 occurs the form *vahantu*, and it seems fairly clear that the following *vahanti* is a sort of stylistic dissimilation, and is secondary to *vahantu* of 6 63 7. See *RVRep* 124

AV 11 10 14a *sarve devā atyāyanti* is repeated in the next verse,

15a, with *atyāyantu,* again, apparently, the change is for stylistic variety

§95 Possibly of the same order may be the reason for the change in
svadhvarā kṛnuhi jātavedah RV. 3 6 6, 7 17. 3,
svadhvarā karati jātavedāh RV 6 10 1, 7 17. 4;

'Prepare, O Jātavedas (let J prepare) effective sacrifices!' (Cf other forms of the same pāda in other texts, §154) If we assume that the variation originated in 7. 17 3 and 4, the desire for variety may be sufficient to account for it; we can, at any rate, see no other reason *kṛnuhi* is pres impv., *karati* aor subj   The 3d person subj forms are just as good imperatives as true imperative forms   Consider the 3d person mixed subj -impv forms treated below, §173, and let us remember that the so-called 1st person imperatives are really subjunctives In view of these facts, and of the enormous number of interchanges between the two moods (below, §§151ff), we may confidently say that there is no real difference between subjunctive and imperative in the mantras, at least as far as principal clauses go [11]

§96 In the next, a RV repetition,
jyok paśyema sūryam uccarantam 10 59 6,
jyok paśyāt sūryam uccarantam 4 25 4,

'Long may we (he) behold the rising sun!", the variation between trissyllabic and dissyllabic verb-forms goes hand in hand with dissyllabic and trissyllabic pronunciation of *sūryam (sūriam)*   Since *sūria-* is commoner in RV , we may perhaps assume that *paśyema* is secondary But it must be observed that this has no apparent bearing on the question of moods, since the subj *paśyāma* would do just as well in 10 59 6, and the opt *paśyet* in 4 25 4

§97 In AV 6 122 5, 11 1 27 *indro marutvān sa dadātu tan me* (11. 1 27 *dadād idam me),* 'Indra with the Maruts, may he give that to me!', a slight and apparently unnecessary change between *tad* and *idam* goes along with, and either causes or is caused by, the exchange between impv and injunctive (? subjunctive, from stem *dada-*)   Again, AV 19 50 7 has the metrically correct couplet *uṣā no ahna ā bhajād, ahas tubhyam vibhāvari,* 'may the dawn commit us to the day, the day to thee, O shining one!"   For the sake of a slight and unnecessary lexical alteration AV 19 48. 2 varies the mood and violates the meter *uṣā no ahne pari dadātv, ahas tubhyam vibhāvari*   The meaning is the same

[11] The chief distinction between the two moods appears to be the exclusion of the 2d person imperative from dependent (except prohibitive) sentences   Cf RV. 8 103 14 *mādayasva svarnare,* 'delight thyself with *(chez)* Svarnara', but 8 65 2 *yad   mādayāse svarnare,* 'when thou mayst delight thyself' etc

RV. 10 35 13 *viśve no devā avasā gamantu*, 'may all the gods come hither with help for us', is changed in 1. 89. 7 to *viśve no devā avasā gamann iha* The patch-word *iha* helps the substituted subj. *gaman* (instead of mixed impv.-subj *gamantu*) to make a *jagatī* pāda out of a *triṣṭubh*.

AV. 7 60 7 *viśvā rūpāni puṣyata*, 'prosper ye in all forms', is adapted to the cosmogonic Rohita in 13 2 10 *viśvā rūpāni puṣyasi*, 'thou prosperest in all forms' The Ppp in the latter passage has *prajāh sarvā vi paśyasi*, 'thou beholdest every way all creatures', a more appropriate saying for the solar Rohita, and probably the original one; the Śaunaka version has mechanically imitated 7 60 7 which floated thru the mind of its redactor

§98. Metrical convenience may again be held to account for the subj -opt interchange in RV. 7 66 16 *jīvema śaradah śatam*, appearing secondarily with change of person in 10 85 39 as *jīvāti* etc For the opt 3d sing *jīvet* would not fit the meter. It is interesting to note that this pāda, RV 10 85 39, is repeated in ApMB. 1. 5 2 with change of *jīvāti* to the hybrid subj -impv *jīvātu*, showing the tense sympathy between subj and impv. in the third person, alluded to above

§99 In one RV repetition there is no other than the resulting metrical difference between a pres subj and an aor. indic .

yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā, ubhe bhayete rajasī apāre 4. 42 6, 'When the soma libations and the songs of praise incite me, both boundless hemispheres (heaven and earth) are afright'

purū sahasrā ni śiśāmi dāśuṣe, yan mā somāsa ukthino amandiṣuh 10 48 4

We may of course render the aor of this passage. 'Many thousands do I secure for my worshiper when the soma libations accompanied by songs of praise have incited me' But in truth the aor is here just as modal as the subj , it is the so-called prophetic aorist which states a wish as an accomplished fact See §127 below

§100 Again, the imperative in *tāt* (Whitney, *Grammar* §571; Delbruck, *AISyntax* §207, Speyer, *Ved. Skt. Synt.* §188, n 1) fails to differentiate itself modally from the ordinary pres impv. in two RV parallels.

pra no yachatād avṛkam pṛthu chardih 1 48 15,
prāsmai yachatam avṛkam pṛthu chardih 8 9. 1,
'Do thou furnish us (do ye two furnish him) broad protection against enemies' (Cf further RV 8 27 4, *yantā no avṛkam chardih*, with a yet different mood) The difference is at most chronological, *yachatād* may be a more archaic form, and it occurs in an older part of RV., see

Oldenberg, *Proleg* 262, and *RVRep* 82   Thus we may account for
the variation between *kṛdhi* and *kuru* in ŚŚ *tato no abhayam kṛdhi* 3
20 2 and   *kuru* 13 2 2   Here the mood is the same, but the archaic
aor impv (inherited from RV and kept in nearly all of the numerous
reproductions of the *pāda* in other texts, see §210, a) is replaced by the
commonplace pres impv *kuru*

§101 We can conceive no reason for the variation between impv and
precative in the following formula, both forms of which are found in KS
durmitrās tasmai santu (38 5 *bhūyāsur*) *yo 'smān dveṣṭi* 3 8, 38 5, 'may
they be hostile to him who hates us '

Instances of more than two modal varieties in the same passage

§102 In quite a number of cases more than two moods, usually
three, but occasionally even more than three, interchange in different
versions of one and the same passage   These are of special interest
because they show in a superior degree that the modal distinctions are
the reverse of sharp   The cases here listed are not repeated below under
the heads of the much more numerous interchanges between two moods,
they may be added there without any great inconvenience

§103 In the formulaic prayer which says 'may I (thou, we, or he)
live a hundred autumns'', there is a confluence of almost all modal
varieties subj *jīvāti*, impv *jīva*, mixed impv -subj *jīvātu*, opt *jīvema*,
subj (or impv) 1st pers. *jīvāni* and *jīvāva*, and, finally, present indic
jīvāmi   Their citations may easily be found in the Vedic Concordance,
see e g *jīvāti śaradah śatam*   And compare with these the closely
related *triṣṭubh* pāda, *śatam jīvantu (jīvantah, jīvema, jīvāmi, ca jīva)
śaradah purūcīh (suvarcāh),* 'may they (we, I, thou) live a hundred
numerous autumns' or 'a hundred autumns being in possession of glory '

§104 In the majority of the following list of multiple modal inter-
changes, one or more indicatives figure often along with one or more of
the oblique moods, cf §§112ff and 127ff   These are followed by cases
in which at least three non-indicative forms vary with each other   In
the first not less than four moods are found (five if we count the mixed
subj -impv).

(a) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, Subjunctive-Imperative, Im-
perative, and Precative

ito mukṣīya māmutah (ApŚ *mā pateh*) VS ŚB ApŚ *preto muñcāmi*
(AG ŚG SMB MG *muñcātu,* PG † *muñcatu;* ApMB *muñcāti*)
nāmutah (ŚG MG SMB † *māmutah,* PG *mā pateh*) RV AV AG.
ŚG SMB PG ApMB MG   'Hence, and not thence (not from my, or

her, husband) may I be loosened (I loosen, let him loosen, etc) ' Cf. ın Conc *mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt (mā patyuh).* See §312

(b) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive:

prapıtāmahān bıbhartı pınvamānah (TA † *°maham bıbharat pınvamāne*) AV 'TA : *svarge loke pınvamāno bıbhartu* ApŚ 'It supports (shall support) our great-grandfathers, swellıng' or the lıke

sā nah payasvatī duhām (TS PG *dhukṣva;* MS ŚMB. *duhā,* followed by vowel, but SMB once, 2 2 1c, *duhām* acc. to Jorgensen, and so v. 1 of MS.; MS p p *duhe*) RV. AV. TS MS KS SMB. PG 'Rıch ın mılk she yıelds (yıeld thou, let her yıeld) to us ' The MS and SMB readıngs are doubtful

yajñasyāyur anu sam carantı (AŚ *tarantu*) TA AŚ · *yajñāyur anu sam carān* TB. ApŚ 'Let them (they do) follow along the lıfe of the sacrıfice!'

kṣeme tıṣṭhātı (ŚG *tıṣṭha,* PG *tıṣṭhatu,* HG *tıṣṭhatı*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānā* AV ŚG PG HG. 'May ıt, drıppıng ghee, stand (or, ıt stands , stand thou) ın securıty.'

(c) Present Indicative, Subjunctive, and Optative:

teṣv (ŚG. *anyeṣv,* read *yeṣv* wıth Oldenberg, *ISt* 15 73, note) *aham sumanāh sam vısāmı* (AŚ *°nı* [text, *°tı*], MG. *vasāma,* ŚG. *vıśeyam*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG. HG ApMB. MG. (see Knauer's note on. MG 1. 14 6). '(May) I (we) in thıs house lıve happıly' or the lıke

(d) Present Indicative, Imperative, and Precative.

sūrya bhrājıṣṭha bhrājıṣṭhas (wıth variants) *tvam* (MS adds *varcasvān*) *deveṣv ası* (MS. *edhı,* TS *deveṣu bhūyāh*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ŚB ŚŚ. 'O brılliant sun, thou art (be thou) brılliant among the gods '

arıṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmı (ApMB. *kṛnomi*) RV. ApMB · *arıṣṭām mā saha patyā dadhātu* KŚ MŚ MG.: *arıṣṭāham saha patyā bhūyāsam* VS 'I make thee (he shall make me; may I be) free from harm, wıth thy (my) husband '

(e) Present Indicative, Aorıst Indicative, and Future:

yāvatīnām idam karomı (ŚG. *karıṣyāmı*) *bhūyasīnām uttarām* (ŚG. *°mām*) *samām krıyāsam* MS. MŚ. ŚG.· *yāvatīnām-yāvatīnām va aıṣamo lakṣanam akārıṣam bhūyasīnām-bhūyasīnām va uttarām-uttarām samām krıyāsam* SMB †

(f) Present Indicative, Aorıst Indicative, and Imperative·

vācaspatıh somam apāt MS TA ŚŚ.: *pıbatu* TA ŚŚ · *pıbati* TA All ın same context. 'The lord of speech has drunk (drınks, shall drınk) the soma.'

sugā (TS ApŚ. *svagā*) *vo devāh sadanā* (TS N. *°nam*) *akarma* (MS

kṛnomi, KŚ ApŚ Kauś *sadanāni santu*, KS *sadanedam astu*) AV
VS TS MS KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ Kauś N 'We have made (I make,
let be) your seats easy of access for you, O gods '

(g) Present Indicative, Aorist Indicative, and Precative

nir (KS *nir druho nir*, VS ŚB *svāhā nir*) *varunasya pāśān mucye*
(KŚ *mukṣīya*, MS. *pāśād amukṣi*) VS MS KS ŚB 'I am (have been,
may I be) released from Varuna's fetter '

(h) Present Indicative, Perfect Indicative, and Subjunctive

salakṣmā (MS KS °*ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB °*pam*)
bhavāti (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB *viṣurūpā yat*
salakṣmāno bhavatha TS   'That whoso (what) is like should be different'
or the like   See §330, end

varuneti śapāmahe (MS † °*hai*, AV *yad ūcima*) AV VS TS MS KS
ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

(i) Imperfect Indicative (or Injunctive), Perfect Indicative, and
Imperative

kāmam (AV PB *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV *viveśa*,
KS PB *viśat*) AV KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ 'Desire hath entered
(shall enter) the ocean', or, 'enter into the ocean desire '

(k) Imperfect Indicative, Perfect Indicative, and Perfect Optative

ny anyā arkam abhito viviśrè (AV *'viśanta*, JB *viviśyuh*) RV AV JB
ŚB AA   'Others settled (may settle) about the sun '

(l) Imperfect Indicative, Imperative, and Injunctive

havyā te svadantām (MS *svadan*, KS *asvadan*) VS TS MS KS
ŚB   But *svadan* may be imperfect, like *asvadan*, see §8

(m) Aorist Indicative, Injunctive, and Imperative (Subjunctive-
Imperative)

apaitu mṛtyur amṛtam na āgan (PG *āgāt*) TB TAA ApŚ PG HG
paraitu mṛtyur amṛtam na aitu (ŚŚ SMB *amṛtam ma ā gāt*) AV ŚŚ
SMB 'Let death depart, immortality hath (shall) come to us (me) '
As between *āgāt* and *ā gāt* the mss are, of course, indeterminate

akṣan, aghat(tam), aghan, aghasan, °*sat, aghastām tam, ghasat, ghasan,
ghastu*, and *ghasantu* see Conc under each word   All mean 'he has
(they have) eaten' or 'shall eat '

(n) Aorist Indicative, Imperative, and Future

subhūtakṛtah subhūtam nah kṛnuta ŚŚ *suhutakṛtah stha suhutam
kariṣyatha* (and, *akārṣta*) AŚ

(o) Perfect Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive

madhu tvā (AV *me*) *madhulā karotu* (AV *karah*, RV *cakāra*, MS
kṛnotu) RV AV MS TA ApŚ 'May it, honeyed, make thee honey',
'it, honeyed, has made etc ', 'do thou, honeyed, make honey for me '

(p) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Subjunctive-Imperative·

vācaspatır no adya vājam svadatu VSK · *vācaspatır vācam* (VS ŚB.†
also *vājam) nah svadatu* (TS KS.* *vācam adya stadātı nah*, TB .
svadātı te [but Poona ed *nah*], MS *svadātu nah*) VS TS MS KS.
(bis) ŚB TB SMB 'May the Lord of Speech sweeten our (thy)
speech (food).'

svadantu havyam madhunā ghŗtena RV AV. VS MS. KS TB N.·
svadātı (MS °*tu) havyam* (VS KS *yajñam) madhunā ghŗtena* VS MS.
KS TB

agnış tān (AŚ *tāl*, for *tānl) lokāt pra nudāty* (AŚ *nudātv*, SMB
nudatv) asmāt VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ SMB *agnış* (ApŚ *agne) tān
asmāt pra nunottu* (ApŚ *nudasva) lokāt* (AV *pra dhamātı yajñāt*)
AV ApŚ MŚ 'May Agnı (O Agnı) drive them away from this
world'

(q) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Injunctive:

vıśvā †deva prtanā abhışya TB ApŚ HG : *vıśvāś ca deva* (PG *devah*)
prtanā abhışyāh (PG † °*şyak*) KS PG 'O god (let the god) annihilate
all the hosts' On *abhışyak* see §337, end

mandūkyā su sam gamah (Conc *gama*, by error, TA *gamaya*) RV.
TA *mandūky apsu śam bhuvah* AV.

(r) Imperative, Subjunctive, and Optative·

mahyam ıd vaśam ā nayāt ApMB *mahyam punar udājatu* HG . *mah-
yam muktvāthānyam ānayet* PG

(s) Imperative, Imperative ın *tāt*, and Subjunctive:

etam jānītha (KS *jānīla*, TB *jānītāt) parame vyoman* VS. KS. ŚB.
TB *jānīta smaınam* (TS. MŚ *jānītād enam) parame vyoman* AV. TS.
MŚ 'Acknowledge hım ın the highest heaven' Cf. *tam sma jānīta*
(VSK °*tha) parame vyoman* AV. VS VSK TS KS ŚB MŚ, which
introduces also the present ındıcatıve, ıf we may trust the VSK. readıng

(t) Imperative, Imperative ın *tāt*, and Optative

chandonāmānām (wıth varıants) *sāmrājyam gacha* (VSK. *gachatāt;*
MŚ *gachet*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ 'Arrıve (may he arrıve) at the
sovereıgnty of the meters' names', or the lıke

deveşu nah sukŗto (VSK. *mā sukŗtam) brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB. MŚ.
brūyāt) VSK TS KS ·PB MŚ *devebhyo mā sukŗtam brūtāt* (ŚB with
ūha, *voceh*) VS ŚB · *sukŗtam mā deveşu brūtāt* TS A 3d person form is
ımpossıble here, PB comm reads *brūtāt*, and probably MŚ should be
read so too 'Declare us (me) rıghteous among (to) the gods.'

(u) Imperative, Optatıve, and Precatıve

tasya na ıştasya prītasya dravınehāgameh VS 'Wealth of thıs en-

joyed sacrifice, come here to us!'. *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya dravinehāgamyāt* MS (see §332) *tasya meṣtasya vītasya dravinam ā gamyāt* (KS *dravinehāgamyāh*, ApŚ *dravinehāgameh*) TS. KS ApŚ. · *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣtasya dravinam māgachatu* KS (so read in both 5 4 and 32 4, with ms at 32 4, v. Schroeder wrongly emends to *dravinam āga°*).

pari no heti rudrasya vṛjyāh (VSK °*yāt*) RV VSK : *pari no rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu* TS KS · *pari no rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu* VS MS 'May Rudra's missile avoid us ' Cf *pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛnaktu* AV. KS , and *pari vo heti rudrasya vṛjyāh* (TB *vṛñjyāt*) RV TB See *RVRep.* 573, where the pāda *pari tvā* etc , and the Concordance reference thereto, are to be deleted, add KS 30 10 under *pari vo rudrasya* etc.

(v) Imperative, Injunctive, and Optative
sarvam āyur geṣam (AV *aśīya*, TA *ayāni*, ŚB *ihi*) AV. KS. TB. ŚB TA ApŚ. Cf *sa° ā° asi* TB ApŚ

(w) Imperative, Precative, and Past Passive Participle
apahato 'raruh pṛthivyai (also, °*vyā adevayajanah*, and, °*vyai devaya-janyai*) TS ApŚ . *apārarum adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanā* (ApŚ *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ.. *apārarum pṛthivyai devayajanād badhyāsam* VS ŚB 'Driven away is (drive away, I would drive away) Araru from the earth' etc.

(x) Subjunctive, Injunctive, and Optative
anu (MS erroneously, *nu*, KB ŚŚ *upa*) *vām jihvā ghṛtam ā caranyat* MS KS KB ŚŚ *prati te jihvā ghṛtam uc caranyat* (TS °*yet*) VS. TS. MS KS ŚB : *prati vām jihvā ghṛtam uc* (AV. TS † also, *ā*) *caranyat* (AV. °*yāt*, TS °*yet*) AV TS MS KS KB AŚ ŚŚ 'May your tongue move up to meet the ghee', or the like
kṣetrasya patnī adhi no bruvāthah (TS *brūyātam*, KS. *adhi vocatam nah*) TS MS KS 'Ye two mistresses of the field, bless us!' On the meaning of *adhi-vac* and *adhi-brū*, see Gehman, *JAOS* 36 213 ff
yad adya hotṛvarye (ŚŚ °*vurye*), *jihmam cakṣuh parāpatat* (ŚŚ °*tāt*), *agniṣ tat punar ābharāt* (ApŚ † °*rat*, ŚB. *ābhriyāt*) ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ. 'That which, at the choice of the *hotṛ*, may escape the crooked (faulty) eye, that may Agni bring back here '

(y) Optative, Precative, and Future
cārum adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam ApŚ *madhumatīm* (ŚŚ °*tīm adya*) *devebhyo vācam udyāsam* (ŚŚ *vācam vadiṣyāmi*) TS. TA. ŚŚ · *madhumacīm vācam udeyam* AV · *indriyāvatīm adyāham vācam udyāsam*
, ApŚ 'May I (I shall) speak (today) honeyed (sweet) speech (to the gods) '

Change of tense

§105. According to a familiar fact of Vedic grammar the mood of any so-called tense has precisely the same value as the corresponding mood of any other tense, or, stated conversely, the moods may avail themselves indifferently of the so-called tenses to express what appears to our feeling as impenetrably undifferentiated modal value   This type of interchange belongs as well to the section on tenses, and is treated there in so far as forms are concerned which are identical in mood but different in tense (§§208ff)   E g , as between *vinda*, present imperative, and *vida*, aorist imperative, there is no difference whatever in the historic period of the language   Now this element of formal tense-difference appears frequently along with modal variation   That is to say, along with a change, say, from imperative to subjunctive, there is also a change from present to aorist, or some other tense change   These interchanges, tho they are necessarily negative on the side of tense, enhance still further the sense of the instability of modal interchange   Many pairs of this sort occur in the preceding and following lists, and can easily be gathered from them   But we have, in addition, separated the modal interchanges that are accompanied by tense interchanges, wherever the groups were large enough to make such a subdivision desirable   Thus, in the case of interchanges between Imperative and Subjunctive (§§151ff), and between Imperative and Injunctive (§§155ff)

§106 A number of these combined mood and tense changes will be found quite standard and typical   Thus, to illustrate the crossing of tense and mood in a few roots we may write out in full the following variants

Present stem *yacha-* aorist stem *yans-*

ādityair no aditih śarma yansat (and, *yachatu*) RV (both)

mālevāsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG *adith śarma yansat*) AV. TS MS. KS TB TA ŚG ApMB

uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat (AV *yachatu*) RV AV TS. KS

sa (AV. *sā*) *nah śarma trivarūtham vi yansat* (AV. *ni yachāt*) RV. AV. MS KS TB ApŚ   Here both are subjunctives

§107 More variegated are the correspondences of present imperatives of root *bhū* (occasionally also *as*) with combinations of other moods and tenses from *bhū*   The phonetic element that enters into the interchange between *av* and *uv* in several of these cases has been discussed above, §23

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV. SV VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

sammiślo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*) RV SV.

sampriyah paśubhir bhava (TS ApŚ *bhuvat*) MS TB ApŚ *sampri-yam prajayā paśubhir bhuvat* TA

tvam bhavādhipatir (AV *bhūr abhibhūtir*) *janānām* AV. MS KS

śam astu tanve mama AV.. *śam v astu tanvai tāva* VS   *śam u te tanve*
(TS *tanuve*) *bhuvat* TS. KSA

[*svāveśo anamīvā bhavā nah*, the Conc. quotation *bhuvā* for *bhavā* in
ApMB is to be deleted]

§108   More briefly we find interchange in the root *kṛ*, 'make', aor
subj *karati* pres impv *kṛnotu* (§154), aor subj *karah*. pres impv
kṛnotu (and perf ind *cakāra*, §104, o), aor impv. *kṛdhi* and aor. subj
karat pres impv *kṛnu* (§154). From *dā* 'give' and *dhā* 'place', aor
inj *dāh* and *dhāh*. pres impv. *dehi* and *dhehi*, and *dhāh* *dadhātu* (§158),
also *dhatta, datta, dāta*, and *dattām, dātām*, and *dhatta, dhāntu* (§198)
From *ji* 'conquer', *jayata, jeṣatha* (aor subj , §154), and *jayema jeṣma*
(§174).   From *gam* and *gā* 'go', *gamema geṣma*, and *gan gamet* (§174),
each pair in this case consisting of different aorist stems   From *nī*
'lead', *ninetu neṣat* (§154). From *pā* 'protect', *pātu pāsati* (§154).
From *naś* 'perish', *naśyatu neśat* (§158)   From *vid* 'obtain', *vindatu*
vidat (*ibidem*) and *vidanta vindantu* (§159). From *sthā* 'stand,' *tiṣṭha*
sthāt (§158)   From *kram* 'stride', *krāma. krāmīh* (§159)

§109. There are also cases in which the indicative of one tense inter-
changes with an oblique mood of another tense   Thus from *mad*
'rejoice', *mamadan* (pres subj) *amandiṣuh* (aor ind §145, a), from
van 'win,' *vanute, vansate*, and *vanate* (§117), from *man* 'think', *manve*
manai (aor. subj , §119)

Of course the interchange of Precative (aorist Optative) and other
moods commonly also involves change of tense; for examples, see §161.

SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF MODAL INTERCHANGES

§110   We turn now to a systematic account of the modal variations.
As far as we can observe, the texts of different schools show no constitu-
tional preference for any one mood as against any other   On the con-
trary, they all seem to show complete indifference of choice between
them all   It is possible, of course, when a text substitutes e g impera-
tive for subjunctive or precative for optative, that it approaches the
passage from a slightly altered direction, or with a different quality of
emotion   But it is commonly the same passage, in the same connection,
uttered in the midst of the same real properties   At least the variants
show a very strong tendency to regard the moods as interchangeable

A good deal depends on the frequency of these interchanges; the more common they are, the greater the chance that they imply indifference to modal distinction, and nothing more. We may remember the numerous cases of interchange between active and middle voices, also for the most part bare of real distinction, which we have presented above

§111 We shall deal with the moods in the order stated above. The passages in each class involve interchange between two moods only; these may be reinforced here and there from the groups involving more than two modal varieties (above, §104), which are not repeated here.

I PRESENT INDICATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§112. This is the most frequent interchange. It includes nearly 300 cases, distributed rather unevenly between imperative, subjunctive, injunctive, and optative It is in the main temperamental, rather than logical; philological, rather than grammatical. The Vedic mantras deal almost entirely with the praise of gods; with efforts to coax them into good humor and generosity; and with all sorts of magic or hocus-pocus that is supposed to fulfil wishes. In such an atmosphere the indicative, tho by nature a *modus rectus*, is in truth a sort of *modus obliquus (subjunctivus)*, almost everything that is stated categorically is meant modally. The indicative states things as certain; as a matter of fact these things are merely wished for, hoped for, requested, or importunately insisted upon So, e g , to illustrate by one of the keenest desires in every stratum of the Veda, the desire for *dakṣiṇā* (baksheesh). A poet-priest states, apparently with serene confidence, therefore in the pres ind , that a certain god is clever (*prajānan*) in making even the stingy man give gifts to the priests:

  aditsantam dāpayati prajānan VS KS. ŚB ,
'he cleverly makes the stingy man give. But in truth the poet is whistling in the woods What is really meant is, that he wishes, hopes, or requests that the god may, shall, or should do so Accordingly three other texts read impv. *dāpayatu,* 'let him make to give', for the ind *dāpayati,* 'makes to give':

  aditsantam (AV. *utādttsa°*) *dāpayatu prajānan* AV. TS MS
Here we find no means for deciding which reading is the better or older. —If this were a question of logic or grammar, and not of temperament or manner of speaking, we might enrich the vocabulary of grammatical terminology by yet one more item, 'hortative indicative'.

§113. The hortative indicative is on the whole perhaps the commonest modal expression in the Veda. Its real interest for grammar is that it

varies impartially with pretty much all the oblique moods, showing indirectly that this most generalized kind of wish harbors no modal precision

§114 We present first the variants which concern principal clauses, divided according to the moods that vary with the present indicative Afterwards are listed a considerable number of cases concerning dependent (chiefly relative) clauses, the principles at the bottom of both groups are, for the most part, much the same

Present Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses

§115 This is by far the most frequent of these interchanges   The first persons of the imperative are really subjunctives   They involve peculiar conditions as far as the older language is concerned, we may reserve them for the next section   As for the other two persons, their readiness to take the place of the indicative calls to mind the fact that thruout Sanskrit literature the impv is in a marked degree a mood of wish as well as command, as when, in contrast with Latin *vivat crescat floreat*, Sanskrit uses the imperative, *jayatu rājā*, or, often, the present indicative, which is equally frequent in the drama (e g *jayati jayati devah*, Śakuntala, ed Pischel, *HOS* 16 v 9 2), thus showing that the 'hortative indicative' is by no means limited to the Vedic language The passive imperative is a favorite means of expressing polite request Speyer, *Ved u Skt Syntax* §192   The sequel will show that the impv encroaches upon the other wish-moods to a larger extent than might be expected in a mood of command   Cf Whitney, *Gram.* §§572, 575, Delbruck, *AISynt* 361, Speyer, *op cit* §§188, 192

§116 Here belong, first of all, the dozen cases of interchange between the 2d plural endings *ta* and *tha* which have been considered previously from the phonetic point of view (§§14–19)   They are not repeated here The long list of the rest is as follows

kṣatrānām kṣatrapatir asi (VS ŚB KŚ *edhi*) VS TS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ 'Thou art (be thou) sovereign lord of sovereignties '   Prayer for a king at his coronation

syonā cāsi suṣadā cāsi VS   ŚB 'pleasant art thou and a fair seat', *syonā ca me suṣadā caidhi* TB ApŚ 'be thou pleasant to me and a fair seat '   Addressed to earth

[*pṛṣthena dyāvāpṛthivī* (MS adds *āpṛna*)] *antarikṣam ca m bādhase* (MS *bādhasva,* TS *bādhatām*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB   'With thy (its) back thou sunderest (sunder thou, let it sunder) heaven and earth and the atmosphere', or the like   Addrest to one of the altar-bricks

ā rohatho (TS. VS. ŚB *rohatam*) *varuna mitra gartam* RV. VS TS MS.
KS ŚB N.

(*jātavedasam*) *adhvarānām janayathah* (KS MŚ. °*yatam*) *purogām*
KS TB. ApŚ MŚ. To the fire-sticks: 'Ye beget (beget ye'
(Agni) as leading-steer of sacrifices '

abhi prayo nāsatyā vahanti (and, °*tu*) RV. (both). See §94

somo vīram karmanyam dadāti (TB. °*tu*) RV. VS MS TB.

viśvam hi (KS. *ha*) *ripram pravahanti* (MS. °*tu*) *devīh* RV. AV. VS. MS.
KS Cf. *viśvam asmat pra vahantu ripram* TS.

dhanuh śatror apakāmam kṛnoti (MS. °*tu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. N.
'The bow brings (shall bring) sorrow to the enemy.'

ā devo yātu (MS. MG. *yāti*) *savitā suratnah* RV. MS. KS AB. KB ŚB.
TB. MG. AŚ. ŚŚ.

edhante asyā jñātayah RV. AV. ApMB · *edhantām jñātayo 'mama*
SMB. PG. HG. MG. Both in wedding rites: '(let) her (my)
relations thrive '

viśvā rūpāṇi puṣyata (and, *puṣyasi*) AV (both). See §97.

ekā satī bahudhoṣo vy uchasi (MS. KS *ucha*) TS. MS. KS PG. The
stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh; uchasi* is thus inconsistent metrically.
'Tho single, O Uṣas, shine (thou shinest) forth in many places.'

bhūte haviṣmaty asi (AV. °*mati bhava*) AV. TS TB.

priyo me hṛdo (MŚ *huto*, v. 1 *huto*) *'si* (MŚ.† *bhava*) TS MŚ.

agnaye tvā mahṣam varuno dadātu (MS. °*ti*) VS MS. ŚB ŚŚ —The same
with *bṛhaspataye, yamāya, rudrāya.*

tasmin devā amṛtā mādayantām (RV. °*te*) RV. AV. TA

tiṣṭhantu hatavarcasah AV. 'let them stop still, their glory shattered';
tiṣṭhanti hatavartmanah N. 'they stand still, their way blocked.'

tveṣas te dhūma ṛnvati (AV *ūrnotu*) RV. AV. SV LŚ MŚ. KŚ.

prāno yajñena kalpatām (MS MŚ °*te*) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB MŚ.
—The same with *āyur, cakṣur, pṛṣṭham, brahmā, mano, yajño,
vāg, śrotram,* and *svar.*

ava bādhe pṛtanyatah (ApŚ °*tā*) MS ApŚ : *avabādhasva pṛtanāyatah* PG.

indrena yujā pra mṛnīta (TB. *sayujā prahīṭha,* read with Poona ed.
pramṛnītha) *śatrūn* AV TB Comm. of TB. *nirākuruta* (impv.).

gharmasyaikā savitaikām ni yachati (MS KS. °*te,* PG. °*tu*) TS. MS
KS. PG.

pīvasvatīr jīvadhanyāh pibantu (KSA °*tī*) RV. TS. KSA.

pra stomā yanty (SV *yantv*) *agnaye* RV. SV.

pra vām adhvaryuś carati prayasvān. (AV. *caratu payasvān*) AV. AŚ ŚŚ.

pratīkṣante (ApMB. °*tām*) *śvaśuro devaraś* (ApMB.† *śvaśruvo devarāś*)
ca AV. ApMB

pratı svasaram upa yātı (AV *yātu*) *pītaye* RV. AV

prajānantah pratı gṛhnantu (TS KS ApŚ *°tı*) *pūrve* AV. TS KS ApŚ MŚ

yajñam hınvantı adrıbhıḥ RV *yajñāya santv adrayah* SV.

pūrnām vıvaṣṭy (SV́ *°tv*) *āsıcam* RV † 7 16 11b SV MS

pumānsam jātam abhı sam rabhantām (RV *°te*) RV KS TB ApŚ

punātı te parısrutam RV. VS ŚB KŚ *punātu* etc TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ

brahma tena punīhı nah (LŚ *mā*, VS KS *puñātu mā*, MŚ. TB *punīmahe*) RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ . *ıdam brahma punīmahe* TB

agne dakṣaıh punīhı nah (TB *mā;* MŚ *punīmahe*) RV. MS TB

ā pyāyayantu (N *°tı*) *bhuvanasya gopāh* AV TS MS. KS ŚŚ N

sa vah sarvāh sam caratı prajānan AV . *sarvah sarvā vı caratu pra°* MS

śvahsutyām (MŚ *sadyahsutyām*) *ındrāgnıbhyām.. prabravīmı* (ApŚ also, *prabrūtāt*) ApŚ (bıs) MŚ KŚ *śvahsutyām vā eṣām prabravīmı* AŚ It seems that *prabrūtāt* ıs used as 1st person, cf Whıtney, *Grammar* §571b, quotıng *jāgṛtāt* AV. 4. 5 7 as the 'only case' of *tāt* as 1st person.

ahāny asmaı sudınā bhavantı (TB. *°tu*) RV TB

iṣam madantah parı gām nayadhvam (AV *nayāmah*) RV AV MG 'Revelıng ın foods, lead (we lead) the cow about '

astı hı ṣmā (TS MS KS *astu sma*) *te śuṣmınn avayāh* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'For here, O strong (Indra), ıs (shall be) thy concılıatıon ' On *avayāh* see Neısser, *Z Wbch d RV* , s v

apı pūṣā nı ṣīdatu (AV. ŚŚ * *°tı*) AV ŚŚ (bıs) LŚ SMB HG . *ıha pūṣā nı ṣīdatu* PG. *rāyas poṣo nı°* ApŚ ApMB *vīras trātā nı°* AB

apah samudrād dıvam ud vahantı (Kauś *°tu*) AV Kauś

ındra tvad yantu (AŚ. ŚŚ *yantī*) *rātayah* SV AŚ ŚŚ

abhı (AV TB *upa*) *pra yantu* (TB AVPpp *yantī*) *naro agnırūpāh* RV. AV AVPpp TB N.

ındrāpūṣnoh prıyam apy etı (MS KSA *etu*) *pāthah* RV. VS TS MS KSA ŚŚ

ıyam (AB adds *vaı*) *pıtryā* (AB AŚ ŚŚ *pıtre*) *rāṣtry etv* (AB. AŚ ŚŚ *ety*) *agre* AV AB GB. AŚ ŚŚ —AVPpp agree wıth AŚ ŚŚ

gharmam śrīnantu prathamāya dhāsyave (AŚ ŚŚ *śrīnantı prathamaṣya dhāseh*) AV AŚ ŚŚ

utādıtsantam dāpayatu prajānan AV *adıtsantam dāpayatı* (TS MS *°tu*) *prajānan* VS TS MS KS ŚB

ūrjo bhāgam pṛthıvyā yātı (KS *pṛthıvīm ety*, ApŚ *°vīm etv*) *āpṛnan* MS KS ApŚ

etām sthūnām pitaro dhārayantu (AV °*ti*) *te* RV AV TA.

vṛṣānam yantu (MS *yanti*) *janayah supatnīh* VS MS. KS TB.

indraujaskāraujasvāns tvam sahasvān deveṣv edhi MS : *indraujasvinn
ojasvī* (VS ŚB *indraujiṣthaujiṣṭhas*, VSK *indraujasvann ojasvāns;*
AŚ. *indra ṣodaśinn ojasvino*, Vait [read] *indra ṣodaśinn ojasvāṅs*)
tvam deveṣv asi VS VSK TS ŚB AŚ Vait

tiro (RV VS ŚB AG *antar*) *mṛtyum dadhatām* (TA Ap Ś *dadhmahe)
parvatena RV AV VS ŚB TB TA Ap Ś (bis) AG. ApMB
'Let them block (we block, or hide, remove) death with a mountain '

vi mimīṣva payasvatīm ghṛtācīm AV · *vi mime ivā payasvatīm devānām*
TB Ap Ś.

śṛnvantu (TS. ŚvetU °*ti*) *viśve amṛtasya putrāh* (AV. *amṛtāsa etat*)
RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU.

śṛnvanty (PB °*tv*) *āpo adha* (PB *'dhah*) *kṣarantīh* RV PB.

śṛta utsnāth (M Ś °*tu*) *janitā matīnām* TB Ap Ś. MŚ.

sa no devah śubhayā smṛtyā samyunaktu (MahānU. °*ti*) TA MahānU.

vi (MS KS *pra*) *parjanyah* (RV. °*yam*, TS. °*yāh*) *sṛjanti* (MS. KS.
sṛjatām) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS

sam aśvaparnāś caranti (MS. °*tu;* AV °*parnāh patantu*) *no narah* RV.
AV VS TS MS KSA

sa yajñiyo yajatu (AV °*ti*) *yajñiyān ṛtūn* RV ₐV

sam no mahāni sam iṣo mahantām KS · *teṣām iṣṭāni sam iṣā madanti*
RV VS. TS MS N. In the same verse

sa virājam (KS' °*jā*) *pary eti* (MS. *etu;* KS *pari yāti*) *prajānan* TS. MS
KS Cf. *sanemi rājā pari yāti vidvān* VS ŚB.

sa smā kṛnoti (Ap Ś °*tu*) *ketum ā* RV Ap Ś

sinanti pākam ati (ŚŚ † *adhi*) *dhāra eti* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ *si-
nantu sarve anṛtam vadantam* AV.

pāvamānasya tvā stomena   vīryenot sṛje MS   *pāvamānena tvā stomena
            vīryena devas tvā savitot sṛjatu*   (KS *vīryenoddharāmy aśau*)
TS KS

ketumad dundubhir vāvadīti (AV °*tu*) RV AV. VS. TS MS KSA

ghṛtapruṣas tvā sarito vahanti (AŚ *harito vahantu*) TB. AŚ ApŚ :
ghṛtapruṣo haritas tvāvahantu KS.

ghṛtasya dhārā madhumat pavante (AV °*tām*) RV AV VS KS ApŚ.

āpo gṛheṣu jāgrata HG   *āpo deveṣu jāgratha* PG . *āpo haviḥṣu jāgṛta*
ApŚ . *āpo jāgṛta* MS KS MŚ

yamo dadāty (VS ŚB TA and v 1 of AV , see Whitney on 18 1 55,
    °*tv*) *avasānam asmai* RV AV VS ŚB TA · cf *adād idam yamo*
(VS KS ŚB *adād yamo*) *'vasānam pṛthivyāh* VS TS. MS KS
ŚB TB. Cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg* 311

tato dadāti (TB and v 1 of MS. °*tu*) *dāśuṣe vasūni* RV AV ArS MS TB.

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS ŚB. TB. AŚ ŚŚ. But *vanate* may be aor subj , see §§154, 191

devo devān yajatv (ApŚ °*ty*) *agnir arhan* RV ApŚ

dhanvanā yanti (MS. KS *yantu*) *vṛṣṭayah* RV. TS MS KS

devo devānām pavitram asi TS MS KS · *devo devebhyah pavasva* VS. ŚB.

dhruve sadasi sīdati (SV °*tu*) RV SV

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK. MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ

tasmai sūryāya sutam ā juhota (ApŚ *juhomi*) MS KS MŚ ApŚ

patho anaktu (AV. KS. °*ti*, TS *patha ānakti*) *madhvā ghṛtena* AV VS TS. MS KS.

pātreva bhindan sata eti (AV *etu*, v 1 *eti*) *rakṣasah* RV AV N

hṛdā matim janaye (VS KS. TB °*ya*) *cārum agnaye* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ

pibanti (SV. °*tu*) *varunah kave* RV SV.

madhvā yajñam mimikṣatam (and, °*ti*) RV (both)

mayobhūr vāto abhi vātūsrāh (KSA *vāty usrāh*) RV TS KSA TB. ApŚ AG

mahyam vātah pavatām (KS. °*te*) *kāme asmin* (AV. *kāmāyāsmai*) RV AV. TS KS.

mitro nayatu (SV. °*ti*) *vidvān* RV SV AB GB.

yajño devānām praty eti (MS *etu*) *sumnam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB.

yujo yujyante (MS *yuñjantu*) *karmabhih* VS TS MS KSA

āpura stā mā pūrayata ŚŚ : *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata* TS AŚ · *āpṛno 'si sampṛnah* (ApŚ corruptly, *āpṛnoṣi sampṛna*) *prajayā mā paśubhir ā pṛna* ŚŚ ApŚ 'Thou art (ye are, be ye) filler(s), fill me up' etc

ṛtenāsya nivartaye (MŚ °*ya*), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ °*ya*) TB ApŚ MŚ 'By his holy order do I (thou) return' etc

yamam ha yajño gachati (TA °*tu*) RV. AV TA

reto dadhātv (RV. °*ty*) *oṣadhīṣu garbham* RV TB ApŚ

stṛṇanti (RV.* *stṛṇīta*) *barhir ānuṣak* RV (both) SV VS MS KS ŚB. TB. ApŚ N

vi śloka etu (AV *eti;* TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU

sed agnir agnīṁr aty astv (TB *ety*) *anyān* RV AB TB AŚ

anv enam vıprā ŗṣayo madantı (KSA °*tu*) RV VS TS MS KSA

adha sma (MS *smā*) *te vrajanam kŗṣnam astı* (MS *astu*, KS *vrajanam astu kŗṣnam*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB

adha pra †*sū na upa yantu* (SV *pɩa nūnam upa yantı*) *dhītayah* RV SV

ajīrnā tvam jarayasɩ (MS KS *jaraya*) *sarvam anyat* TS MS KS. PG *jarayasɩ* ıs hypermetrıc 'unagıng, thou makest (make thou) age every other thɩng ' To Uṣas

agnɩs tad vɩśvam (AV mss *vɩśvād*, so read wɩth SPP. and Whɩtney Transl) *āpŗnātɩ* (AV. °*tu*) *vɩdɩān* RV. AV TS MS KS

te arṣantu te varṣantu L Ś · *te varṣantɩ te varṣayantɩ* AV

paramena paśunā krīyase (MS *krīyasva*) VS MS KS ŚB. Cf *tasyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyāś caramena paśunā krīnāmɩ* TS

vɩśvasmaɩ bhūtāyādhvaro (KS MŚ °*ya dhruvo*) *astu devāh* (TS °*dhvaro 'sɩ*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ

aśvɩnā bhɩṣajāvatah (MS °*tam*, TB † °*ta*) VS MS TB 'The Aśvɩns, physɩcɩans, do aɩd', or, 'O Aśvɩns (and Sarasvatī, TB), physɩcɩans, aɩd ye!'

rohantɩ (AŚ °*tu*) *pūrvyā ruhah* MS KS TA AŚ ŚŚ. Cf *tiṣthanti svāruho yathā* TS

somā arṣantı (SV. °*tu*) *vɩṣnave* RV SV Cf *somo arṣatɩ vɩ*° RV

athāsyaɩ madhyam ejatu (ŚŚ °*tɩ*) AŚ ŚŚ. LŚ.

(*parɩ*) *mahe kṣatrāya* (and, *śrotrāya*) *dhattana* AV.· (*parɩ* .) *mahe rāṣtrāya* (and, *śrotrāya*) *dadhmasɩ* HG 'Wrap ye (we wrap) this man up unto great kɩngshɩp (fame) '

kas tvā yunaktɩ sa tvā yunaktu (VS ŚB. °*tɩ*) VS TS KSA ŚB. TB. ApŚ

kas tvā vɩ muñcatɩ sa tvā vɩmuñcatɩ (KSA °*tu*) VS KSA ŚB

stenasyetyām anv ɩhɩ taskarasya (KS °*tyām taskarasyānv ɩhɩ*, TS °*tyām taskarasyānv eṣi*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

snuṣā sapatnā (TB comm and Poona ed text, °*nāh*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu* (AŚ *śvaśuro 'ham asmɩ*) TB AŚ Comm on TB , *yajamānasya sapatnāh śatravah snuṣāvat svādhīnāh santu, ayam tu yajamānah śvaśuro 'stu śvaśuravat svāmā bhavatu(* !)

tayā mā sam sŗjāmasɩ HG. ApMB · *tayā mām ɩndra sam sŗja* RVKh See §304

ud ɩd vapatu (KS. °*tɩ*) *gām avɩm* AV KS MS *tad ud vapatɩ* etc VS. ŚB *ud ɩt kŗṣatɩ gām avɩm* TS

tayā (ApMB. *tvayā*) *prattam svadhayā madantu* (ApMB °*tɩ*, v 1 °*tu*) ApMB HG

apa śatrūn vɩdhyatām (MS *vɩdhyatah*) *samvɩdāne* RV VS TS MS KSA. N

traya enām mahimānah sacante (ŚG *°tām*) TS MS. KS ŚG ApMB

trisug (AŚ *triśrud*) *gharmo vi bhātu me* (KS *gharmas sadam in me
vibhāti*) KS TB TA AŚ *tisṛbhir gharmo vibhāti* MS · *gharmas
triśug vi rājate* (ŚŚ *rocate*) VS ŚB ŚŚ 'The triple-shining hot
drink shines (shall shine) for me', or the like

asau yaja AŚ *asau yajate* LŚ

iha sūrya ud etu te AV. *ut sūryo diva eti* AV. And others, see Conc

anulbanam vayata (KS *vayasi*) *joguvām apah* RV TS KS AB ApŚ

evam garbham dadhāmi (ApMB *dadhātu*) *te* ŚB BṛhU. ŚG ApMB.
HG. And others, §302

mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau AV. *miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV.
āsthāpayata mātaram jigatnum AV. · *ā mātarā sthūpayase jigatnū* RV.

rayim dhattam (and, *dhattha, dhattho*) *vasumantam puruḵṣum* (once,
śatagvinam)   RV (quater)   The ind forms occur in relative
clauses, but the impv *dhattam* twice in principal clauses. See
RVRep 149.

anu svadhā cikitām (KS *°te*) *somo agnih* AV KS TB.

te na ātmasu jāgrati (KS † *jāgṛta*) AV KS 'They watch (watch ye)
over ourselves ' Whitney considers emendation to *jāgratu*, which
Ppp reads

ihaiva rātayah santu (MS. *santi sam yajurbhih*) VS MS. ŚB TA. ŚŚ
LŚ

sarve devā atyāyanti (and, *°tu*) AV. (both)   See §94

iṣa ūrje pavate (MS *pipīhi*) VS MS ŚB. And others   See also, in
Conc , *adbhyah, oṣadhībhyah, vanaspatibhyah, brahmavarcasāya,
dyāvāpṛthivībhyām, asmai ḵṣatrāya, asmai brahmane, asyai viśe,
mahyam jyaiṣṭhyāya*, etc , *pavate*, and correspondents. [But I
question any relation here. F E]

aśītih santv (AV *santy*) *aṣṭau* RVKh AV. ŚŚ

dakṣinato vṛṣabha eṣi havyah (TS. *edhi havyah*, MS KS. *vṛṣabho havya
edhi*) AV TS MS KS

pari nah pāhi (*pātu, pari mā pāhi*) *viśvatah* AV (all) . *pari tvā pāmi
sarvatah* RVKh

parīdam rājy ajinam (PG *°dam vājinam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *dhatsvāsau*)
ŚG PG ApMB HG 'Put on, vigorous, thou yonder, this
skin', or, 'this skin I, vigorous, put on', or the like

tāv imā upa sarpatah SV. JB. · *emām anu sarpata* MS

anirām apa sedhati (AG *bādhatām*) AV ŚŚ AG

jaghanān upa jighnate (MS *°tu*, p p *°ti*) RV VS. TS MS KSA

adharpadaṁ ḵṛnutām (AV * *l ṛnuṣia*, TS *ḵṛnute*) *ye pṛtanyarah*, AV.
(bis) VS. TS MS KS ŚB.

devasya yanty ūtayo (KS *yantūtayo*) *vi vājāh* RV. KS.

atra (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahīmo 'svā ye asan* VS. ŚB.: *atrā jahāma* (AV. *jahīta*)
ye asann aśevāh (AV. *aśivāh*, and *asan durevāh*) RV AV. (bis) TA.

ā tvā śiśur ā krandatu PG · *enām śiśuh krandaty ā kumārah* ŚG

pātam (TS. *vītam*) *ghṛtasya guhyāni nāma* TS ŚŚ.: *pātho ghṛtasya
guhyasya* (MS. KS. *guhyāni*) *nāma* AV. MS KS.

tataś (RV. *ataś*, KS. *tatra*) *cakṣāthām* (RV. *cakṣāthe*, MS. KS. *cakrāthe*)
adituṃ dituṃ ca RV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB

sā (KS. *yā*) *no dadātu* (KS °*tu*) *śravanaṃ pitṛnām* (TS. *pitṛnām*) TS.
MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ. N. It is significant that KS , in making the
clause relative, substitutes an ind for the impv. which is anomalous
in relative clauses; see §§122 f.

ayam (AŚ. *aham) *śatrūn* (*śatrūñ*) *jayatu* (AŚ. *jayāmi) *jarhṛṣāṇah*
(AŚ.† **jarhiṣānah*¹); followed in all texts by.

ayam (AŚ. *aham) *vājam* (VS VSK ŚB. *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ. *jayāmi)
vājasātau VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis). The first
person ind. form in AŚ is a conscious *vikāra* of the other.

antarā dyāvāpṛthivī vyanti (MŚ °*tu*; KS. MŚ add *panthānah*) TS. KS.
SMB. MŚ PG BDh.

tāh sam dadhāmi (KS *dadhātu*, AŚ KŚ *tanomi*) *haviṣā* (MS. *manasā*)
ghṛtena TS MS KS. ApŚ AŚ KŚ.

dīrghāyutvāya jaradaṣṭir asmi (MG. *astu*) PG MG. On MG see §323.

[*susatyam id gavām asyasi pra khudasi* ŚŚ . *suṣadam id gavām asti pra
khuda* AV. by R-Wh's emendation, but the mss. agree as to the
verb forms with ŚŚ]

[*yato bhayam abhayam tan no astu* (AV. ed *asti*, by misprint, see Lanman
ap Whitney on 19.3 4) AV. KS TB ApŚ. MŚ.]

[*vahiṣṭhebhir* (MS *bah*°) *viharan yāsi* (TB *pāhi*, but comm. and Poona
ed text *yāsi*, so read) *tantum* RV. MS KS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ]

[*grāmān sajātayo yanti* HG.. *grāmam sajānayo gachanti* ApMB †
(Conc. quotes ApMB as *gachantu*)]

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses

§117. This is a much rarer interchange than that between present
indicative and imperative It is quite impossible to feel any distinction
between the two classes; we may conclude that, in this sphere of expres-
sion, impv. and subj perform the same function, even if we suspect, as
we do, that the impv is the milder mood of the two The following are
instances of the 2d and 3d persons:

agnır no vanate (VSK *vanute,* SV TS KS *vansate) rayım* RV SV VS
    VSK TS MS KS   'Agnı wins (shall wın) wealth for us'   Here
    vanute ıs pres ınd , *vansate* aor subj , whıle *vanate* ıs ambıguous,
    either the one or the other   Cf Neısser, *BB* 7 223f , Oldenberg,
    Proleg 289, and above, §10, end

ındro jayālı (MS *jayatı) na parā jayālaı* (MS *jayate)* AV TS MS
    'Indra shall be (ıs) vıctorıous, shall not be (ıs not) vanquıshed'

uta prahām atıdīvyā jayālı (AV * °*dīvā jayatı)* RV AV (both)   'More-
    over the superıor gamester shall wın (wıns) the stake'   *jayatı* ıs
    metrıcally ınferıor

tṛnam vasānā sumanā asas (HG *asɪ) tvam* AV HG   '(O house,)
    clothed ın grass (ı e thatched), be thou (thou art) well-dısposed
    (towards us)'

vaśī vaśam nayasa (AV *nayāsā) ekaja tvam* RV AV   'Thou, sole-born
    one, brıngest (shalt brıng) them under control, controllıng' Manyu
    'wrath' ıs addressed

adhırājo rājasu rājayālaı (TS °*tı,* MS °*yate)* AV TS MS

sa no jīveṣṿ ā yame AV   *sa no deveṣṿ ā yamat* RV TA   'He furnıshes
    (shall furnısh) us (long lıfe) among the lıvıng (the gods)'   But see
    note ın Whıtney's AV 18 2 3, from whıch ıt appears that the true
    readıng of AV ıs *yamet,* aor opt , thıs varıant would then belong
    ın §169   *yame* as 3d sıng ıs doubly suspıcıous, the present *yamate*
    ıs quoted ın Whıtney's *Roots* only from the Epıc and later   SPP
    wıth many mss reads *yamet,* or rather *yamed* (followed by *d-*).

pra rādhasā codayāte (SV *rādhānsı codayate) mahıtvanā* RV SV

rejate (SV *bhyasāt te) śuṣmāt pṛthıvī cıd adrıvah* RV SV   'The very
    earth trembles (shall be afraıd) before thy mıght, O possessor of
    the press-stone'

yāh paśūnām ṛṣabhe vācas tāh sūryo agre śukro agre tāh prahınomı (Ap Ś
    °*hınvo)*   MS ApŚ *prahınvah* ıs 2d sıng subj wıth ırregular
    (weak) stem, cf Whıtney, *Grammar* §701, end

samıjānate manasā sam cıkıtre RV. *sam jānāmahaı manasā sam cıkıtvā*
    AV

    §118 Rather more frequent are the ınterchanges between the first
persons subj and ındıc   Thıs ıs obvıously due to the fact that the 1st
ırson subj forms do duty as ımperatıves, at no perıod ın the language
ıs there ıny basıs for dıstıngшıshıng ımpv and subj ın the 1st person
tayānantam (MŚ. *tvayāgne) kāmam* (ŚŚ *lokam) aham jayānı* (MŚ
    jayāmı) AŚ † ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB   'Thru thıs (offerıng) may
    I wın endless delıght (heaven)', or, 'thru thee, Agnı, I wın delıght'

brahmāham antaram kṛnve (KŚ *karave* = °*vai*) AV KŚ 'I make (let
me make) the charm my inner (defense) ' See §26

(*tenāham asya brahmanā*) *ni vartayāmi* (TB °*ni*, but comm and Poona ed.
text °*mi*) *jīvase* TB. ApŚ MŚ. 'By that charm of his I (let me)
return to life ' But ApŚ and the comm suggest that Poona ed
of TB, is right in reading an indic.

jagatyainam (AŚ erroneously, °*tyenam*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmah* (MS KS.
°*mi;* AŚ °*ni*) TS. MS KS. AŚ 'With the *jagatī* (meter) we
(I, may I) settle him among the clans '

idam aham mām kalyānyai kīrtyai svargāya lokāyāmṛtatvāya (ApŚ.
lokāya) dakṣinām nayāni (ApŚ °*mi,* MŚ *dadāmi*) KB. ŚŚ.
ApŚ MŚ . *idam aham mām kalyānyai kīrtyai tejase yaśase
'mṛtatvāyātmānam dakṣinām nayāni* AŚ.

jīvann eva prati tat te (MŚ. SMB v 1 *pratidatte) dadhāmi* (MŚ. *dadāmi,*
SMB *dadāni)* TA SMB. MŚ But Jörgensen reads *dadāmi* in
SMB ; his mss vary.

tam tvendragraha prapadye (ApŚ * *praviśāni) saguh* . KS. ApŚ (bis).
tam tvā pra padye tam tvā pra viśāmi sarvaguh . AV.

yad aham devayajanam veda tasmins tvā devayajana ā kṣinomi (SB.
tasmins tvā vṛścāni) ŚB. ApŚ Acc to Caland on ApŚ 10 2 10,
the HŚ reads *āvṛścāmi*

tau saha (VS. ŚB *tā ubhau) caturah padah sam prasārayāvahai* (VS.
ŚB °*va,* MS °*vah)* VS TS. MS KSA ŚB ApŚ. See comm on
TS 7 4 19 1 (note 9 in Weber)

sve loke viśā (MŚ. *viśa) iha* TS MŚ. '(May) I enter into my own place
here ' The TS strangely accents the form *viśā*.

yasmād yoner udārithā (KS °*tha) yaje* (MS KS *yajā) tam* RV VS TS.
MS KS. ŚB

vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ. °*mahai;* MŚ. *visṛjāvahai)* AŚ ŚŚ. Vait.
ApŚ MŚ PG

§119 The preceding examples still partake of that temperamental
distinction between ind and the oblique moods, described above. There
are, however, also plain cases of such interchange as when we say in
English either 'let me eat', or 'I am going to eat'. For the present is
so little of a tense as to be at times a future, again, future and subj.
are, especially in Sanskrit, close allies Hence the following cases,
which are of course not sharply marked off from the preceding:

(*om) un nayāni* AŚ . (*om) un nayāmi* KS KŚ ApŚ MŚ. 'I (am going
to) ladle out ' And others, see Conc

nihāram ni harāmi (VS ŚB. °*ni) te* VS VSK TS KS ŚB

dadāmīty (AŚ *dadānīty) agnir vadatı* TB AŚ   'I (am going to) give,
saith Agni '

manaı nu (MS *manve nu,* TS *mandāmı) babhrūnām aham śatam dhāmānı
sapta ca* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N   'Of these brown (herbs)
I (am going to) declare the hundred powers and seven '   See §§10,
191.

somam te krīnāmy   TS KS : *somavıkrayın somam te krīnānı*   MS
etad (ŚŚ *ıdam) vām tena prīnāmı* (ŚŚ *°mı,* ApŚ. *°tı,* read *°nı,* Caland
on 2 20 6, n 2) TB ŚŚ ApŚ.   Conc quotes *prīnātı* for TB.

Present Indicative and Injunctive in principal clauses

§120 The injunctive, or 'improper subjunctive', is identical in form
with augmentless preterites of all classes   The distinction between
modal value and preterite value is always hard to make, especially
since the Veda abounds with preterite indicatives in quasi-modal use
(§§127ff)   Moreover, a large part of the injunctive forms are formally
identical with imperatives, and some of them with optatives, which
further tends to efface the individuality of the injunctive   The present
class of interchange is rare in any case   In so far as it occurs it puts
the injunctive completely in line with the subjunctive   The following
few cases are in a measure supported by some of the same sort in de-
pendent clauses (§125)

pra te dıvo na stanayantı śuṣmāh RV TS   'your lightning (fires, O
Agni) thunder forth as if from heaven'; *pra te dıvo na stanayanta
śuṣmaıh* MS 'may (your fires) thunder forth as if from heaven
with lightning '

parı şvajante (SV. *°ta) janayo yathā patım* RV SV AV   'They (shall)
embrace him as wives do their husbands '

ūrdhvas tasthau nem ava glāpayantı (AV *°ta) RV AV   'He stands
upright, verily they do not (let them not) exhaust him '   [It has
been argued that] this stanza has a better form in AV than in RV
[See references quoted by Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice
Bloomfield* 128, and note   But the contrary view is set forth there
by the writer   As to this particular pāda, Ppp agrees with RV
on *glāpayantı,* and is followed by Whitney in his Translation   Cer-
tainly *glāpayanta* is secondary   F E]

annādāyānnapatyāyā dudhat Kauś   *annādam annādyāyādadhe* (KS
annādyāyānnapatyāyādadhe) TS KS · *annādam agnım annapatyā-
yādadhe* MS : *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ   *agnım annādam
annādyāyādadhe* VS

Present Indicative and Optative (Precative) in principal clauses

§121. The optative, a rather indifferent wish mood, stands, perhaps, more in the center of the entire sphere of modality than any other mood. This accounts to some extent for its survival in the later language as the heir of most of the *modi subjunctivi*. It is, as we shall see (§169), on terms of lively reciprocity with the subj , being, however, rarer than the subj in the metrical parts of the Veda. With the present ind. it alternates only in a moderate number of cases, especially as compared with the impv., cf our remarks on the latter mood above The present makes here, as usual, the impression of greater certainty or insistence. An occasional precative, interchanging with an indicative, is included at the end of the following list. Noticeable to begin with are half a dozen cases in which indicatives and optatives of the root *hū* 'call' interchange.

marutvantam sakhyāya havāmahe (SV † *huvemahi*) RV. SV. '(Indra) with the Maruts do (would) we call unto alliance.'

tam (RV. omits) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV *havāmahe*, RV. KS. *johavīmi*) RV RVKh AV. TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

agnim (AV *ukthair*, MahānU *ugram*) *huvema* (AV *havāmahe*) *paramāt sadhasthāt* AV TA MahānU. 'Agni (the mighty one, with songs) we (would) call from the highest seat.' AV. is metrically inferior

rtasya patnīm avase huvema (AV *havāmahe*) AV. VS TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ

prātarjitam bhagam ugram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. N.

prātah somam uta rudram huvema (AV. *havāmahe*) RV. AV. VS TB. ApMB.

In these it will be noted that AV markedly prefers the form *havāmahe*. The remaining cases are·

(asyed indro madeṣv ā) grābham grbhnāti (RV *grbhnīta*) *sānasim* RV. SV. 'When exhilarated by this very (soma) Indra makes (shall make) a victorious (rich) haul.' *grbhnīta* may also be regarded as injunctive or augmentless preterite

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS † *sanāmy agneh*) VS TS MS. KS '(May) I here gain substance, O Agni (KS , Agni's substance) ' The KS variant is interesting, changing the voc to a gen it makes it no longer a direct address to the god, and therefore less in tune with the optative mood

indravanto vanāmahe (PB *vanemahi*) TS PR

viśvair viśvāṅgaih saha sam bhavāmi (AV *bhavema*) AV. MŚ   'I (may we) come into being with all sound-limbed persons '

ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ *sanomy*) *aham* TB TAA. ApŚ MŚ   'Both worlds (may) I obtain '   *sanem* is a strange form, see Whitney, *Roots*, s v *san*

idam pitṛbhyah pra bharāmi (TA *bharema*) *barhih* AV TA.

nābhiprāpnoti (MŚ °*pnuyur*) *nirṛtim parācaih* (AŚ MŚ *parastāt*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ.

nṛcakṣasam tvā deva soma sucakṣā ava khyeṣam (MŚ *kṣeṣam*) TS. MŚ · *nṛcakṣasam tvā nṛcakṣāh pratīkṣe* ŚŚ

haviṣmantah sadam it tvā havāmahe RV VS SMB ŚvetU : *haviṣmanto namasā vidhema te* TS MS KS TAA   The final pāda of a verse to Rudra is here modulated in four YV. texts, probably under the influence of the RV pāda, *haviṣmanto vidhema te*

evam aham āyuṣā   samindhe (SMB *samedhiṣīya*) SMB. PG   'Thus (may) I become aflame (thrive) with life' etc   Cf with active (causative) impv , *evam mām āyuṣā   .samedhaya* ApMB HG 'Thus make me thrive with life.'   See §238

yad agneh sendrasya   aham agne sarvavrato bhavāmi svāhā AG   *yad brāhmanānām   tenāham sarvavrato bhūyāsam* ApMB.

ny aham tam mṛdyāsam yo 'smān dveṣṭi etc MS · *idam aham tam nimṛnāmi yo 'smān dveṣṭi* etc KS   'I (would) crush (here) him that hates us '

viśvā abhiṣṭīh pṛtanā jayati MS   *viśvā hi bhūyāh pṛtanā abhiṣṭīh* TS. *asminn aham sahasram puṣyāmi* ApMB · *asmin sahasram puṣyāsam* (Kauś *puṣyāsma*) ŚB BrhU Kauś

Interchange between Present Indicative and various modal forms in dependent (mostly relative) clauses

§122 The same interchange between present indicatives and various moods occurs on a smaller scale in dependent clauses, most of which are relative   The indicative states the fact, the modal forms assume it with various kinds or degrees of potentiality   The difference is the same as in principal clauses   bluff assumption on the one hand, prayerful uncertainty on the other   The various moods all figure, but the subjunctive is here decidedly the most frequent (see Delbrück, *AISyntax* 317ff), approaching frequently a future value   Imperatives are rare, and 2d person imperatives seem not to occur at all, cf the shift between *mādayasva svarnare* RV 8 103 14, 'delight thyself in the house of Svarnara', with *yad   mādayāse svarnare*, RV 8 65 2, 'when thou

delightest thyself in the house of Svarnara'; see §95, note 11. Cf.
further the variant *sā no dadātu* . , *yā no dadāti* . , §116, end.

Present Indicative and Imperative in dependent clauses

§123 As we have just said, the impv in dependent clauses is rare·
it is to some extent supported by injunctive forms, and first person
subjunctives, which may equally well be considered imperatives (see
below):

(*ye*)   *svadanti* (MS TB. °*tu*, MS p p °*ti*) *devā ubhayāni havyā* (TB.
Poona ed absurdly, *havyāh*) RV VS MS. KS TB N. 'The gods
who (shall) enjoy both sorts of oblations '

[*yāni* (ApMB * *tāni*) *bhadrāni bījāny* (HG. *yāni prabhūni vīryāny*)]
ŗṣabhā janayanti (HG ApMB * °*tu*) *nah* (AV. *ca*, ApMB.* *nau*)
AV ApMB (bis) HG. Only in HG. is the impv. found in a rela-
tive clause, ApMB. has *tāni   janayantu nau*, but *yāni* .. *janayanti
nah*. HG. may be a blend of these two   'Which (these) excellent
seeds (or the like) bulls (shall) produce for us '   ı

Present Indicative and Subjunctive in dependent clauses

§124 In these cases, which are quite common, the subjunctive, as
we have observed above, often approaches the sphere of the future.
[*yo no maruto abhi* (AV. KS *yo no marto maruto*, TS *yo no marto vasavo*)
durhŗnāyus] *tiraś cittāni* (KS ms *cittā*, em. by v Schroeder to
cittāni) *vasavo jighānsati* (TS. *tirah satyāni maruto jighānsāt*) RV.
AV. TS MS KS   'Whatever hostile mortal desires (shall desire)
to slay us' etc. The stanza is otherwise *triṣṭubh*, TS makes this
pāda metrically consistent with the rest

yad aham dhanena prapananś carāmi ApMB.· *yad vi devāh prapanam
carāma* HG : *yena dhanena prapanam carāmi* AV

agne vittād dhaviṣo yad yajāma (TB °*mah*) RV TB. 'O Agni, take note
of the oblation which we (shall) offer thee ' See §25.

tam dhūrva yam vayam dhūrvāmah VS TS ŚB. TB · *dhūrva tam yo
'smān dhūrvati* VS TS ŚB TB   *yam vayam dhvarāma tam dhvara*
(KS *vayam dhūrvāmas tam ca dhūrva*) MS. KS. *dhvara dhvaran-
tam yo asmān dhvarāt* MS   'Injure him whom we (may) injure',
  '   who (shall) injure us', or the like.

yam dviṣmas tam sa ŗchatu RV . *yam dveṣāma tam ŗchatu* AV.

yena yamasya (AV. *yamasya yena*, TB ApŚ *yamasya*, om. *yena*)
nidhinā (AV. TS TB ApŚ *bahinā*) *carāmi* (MS MŚ *carāvah*,

SMB.† *carāni*) AV TS MS TB TA ApŚ MŚ SMB.

devān yajñiyān iha yān yajāmahai (TS *havāmahe*) TS MS KS.

avasyatam muñcatam yan no asti (AV . *asat*) RV. AV TS MS KS

yas tad veda savituh (MahānU *sa pituh*) *pitāsat* TA. MahānU. *yas tāni veda sa pituṣ* (VS *pituh*) *pitāsat* AV VS *yas tā vijānāt sa pituṣ pitāsat* RV AV TA N

yathāham uttaro 'sāni (HG *vadāmi*) AV. HG 'That I may be (speak) superior'

yo aghāyur abhidāsāt AV . *yo māghāyur abhidāsati* TB

yo na indravāyū mitrāvarunāv abhidāsati bhrātrvya idam aham tam adharam pādayāmi TS. *yo no mitrāvarunā abhidāsāt sapatno bhrātrvyah idam* etc MS 'The rival who contends (shall contend) against us him do I here lay low'

yo mailasyā diśo abhidāsād agnim sā rchatu MS *agnim sa rchatu yo mailasyai* (KS † °*syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS ApŚ : *agnim sadiśām devam rchatu yo 'bhidāsati* TB The same with *indram, marutah, mitrāvarunau*, and *somam*

yam sarve 'nujīvāma TS *yam bahavo 'nujīvān* MS . *yam bahava upajīvanti* AŚ

[*yathāham asya vīrasya* (AV *eṣām vīrānām*, cf RV 10 174 5c)] *virājāni janasya* (ApMB *virājāmi dhanasya*) *ca* RV AV ApMB 'That I (may) control this man (these men) and his (their) folk (wealth).'

rayim yena vanāmahai (SV °*he*) RV SV. 'Thru whom we (may) obtain wealth.'

yena jayanti (TB *jayāsi*) *na parā jayante* (TB *jayāsai*) AV. TB '(Indra) thru whom men conquer (thou mayst conquer), are (be) not conquered'

yena bhūyaś caraty ayam, jyok ca paśyati sūryah, tena te vapāmy āyuṣe MG *yena bhūyaś carāty ayam, jyok ca paśyāti sūryam, tenāsyāyuṣe vapa* ApMB 'With (the razor) by which he shall live on and long behold (be beheld by) the sun, with that I shear thee (shear thou him unto long life' And others, see §§330, 337.

(*kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuh*) *sacāvahe* (MS °*hai*, p p °*he*) *yad avrkam purā cit* RV MS But *sacāvahe* may possibly be also subj., see § 253 Cf Delbrück, *op cit* 278

In one not certain case we find this interchange in an interrogative clause which gives the effect of a conditional clause

(*apām napād āśuhemā kuvit sa*) *supeśasas karati* (KS *karoti*, but v l *karati*) *joṣiṣad dhi* RV MS KS ApŚ 'Will the Son of the Waters

adorn (my songs), so as to enjoy them?' That is to say, 'if he
will adorn them, he will enjoy them' The present *karoti* is secon-
dary, if not corrupt

In a lest clause the same variation occurs (cf. Delbruck 316f ; 545)
mā mā hāsīn (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāni* (MŚ °*mi*)
AV † KS MŚ   'Let him not, implored, abandon me, lest I (may)
abandon thee !' · *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāma* TB ApŚ.: *mā no
hinsīd dhinsito dadhāmi* (some mss omit *dadhāmi*) *na tvā jahāmi* AŚ

Present Indicative and Injunctive in dependent clauses

§125 The few cases noted of this interchange all show injunctive
forms which are formally indistinguishable from imperatives; and of
course, as usual, they might also be construed as augmentless preterites:
(*hiranyayī aranī*) *yam nirmanthato aśvinā* (ŚB BrhU *yābhyām nirman-
thatām aśvinau devau*) RV. ŚB. BrhU. ApMB. HG. MG. '(The
foetus) which the Aśvins drill out with their golden drill', or 'the two
golden drills with which the Aśvins shall drill out (the foetus)', etc.
yā rājānā (TS °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS MS KS.
yāta· yātha may be merely phonetic, see §21
ubhe yat tvā bhavato rodasī anu (SV. *tvā rodasī dhāvatām anu*) RV. SV.
Furthermore, some variants quoted unde. Present Indicative and
Subjunctive have forms which might be considered 1st person Injunctive
as well as Subjunctive, e g *yam dviṣmas* (*dveṣāma*) etc., see §124.

Present Indicative and Optative in dependent clause

§126 In one somewhat doubtful instance·
yatra devaih sadhamādam madanti (MS TB *madema*) AV. MS TB.
'Where they revel (we may revel) in common revelry with the
gods' Cf *athā* (TB also *yathā*) *devaih sadhamādam ·nadema* KS
TB ApŚ But the comm on AV 18. 4 10 reads *madema,* the
isolated *madanti* is somewhat suspicious, see Whitney's note

II PRETERITES IN INTERCHANGE WITH MOODS

§127 We have used the term 'temperamental' more than once in the
preceding pages, to describe the uses of the categorical indicative that
really carry within them modal values of various kinds and degrees
The Vedic poets show even greater keenness of feeling in their use of
preterite indicatives where they really experience moods Especially
is this true of the aorist, which is typically used to denote an accom-

plished fact within the range of the speaker's own knowledge, so that
it is a favorite mode of confident assertion, especially of recent events
(Delbrück, *AITempuslehre* 6, Renou 29)   Altho the imperfect, per-
fect, and past passive participle all appear commonly enough in inter-
change with moods, the aorist is the commonest of all   This kind of
aorist, especially common in the literature of magic and conjuration,
has been called with some propriety 'prophetic aorist'   So some texts
say·

añjasā satyam upāgām MS KS. 'I have speedily attained unto
truth!'
But the majority, nine in number, use an optative aorist·

añjasā satyam upa gesam VS. TS GB ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ ŚG
'May I speedily attain unto truth!' And this variant is a valuable
commentary on the aorist indicative of the other texts, it really means
only that such is the speaker's earnest and insistent desire   Or, again,
one text says:

candramā nakṣatrair anu tvāvīt KS. (aor indic), 'The moon with the
constellations has helped thee along'   Another text, using the impera-
tive, says

candramā nakṣatrair anu tvāvatu TB   'Let the moon with the con-
stellations help thee along'

§128 It is worth mentioning that sometimes the same text contains
expressions with both verbal forms   Thus in the reciprocal *ūha* formu-
las ŚB 3. 4 3 9 and 3 6 3 21 *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir manyatām
(amaṅsta)*, 'the Lord of Consecration shall favor (has favored) my
consecration'   Or MS 1 2 14 and 4 13. 8 *pṛthivīm upareṇa dṛnha*
and *pṛ° uparenādṛnhīt*, 'steady thou (it has steadied) the earth with
thy (its) base.' These show more definitely how close to each other
are the two types of expression

§129 The considerable list which we have classed as preterites with
and without augment (§§266ff) may also contain some cases in which
the augmentless form is really modal, and thus belong here

As in the case of the present variants, we have separated those which
occur in principal clauses from those in subordinate clauses.

§130 *Aorist Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

sā na āgan (AV aitu, KS *seyam āgād*) *varcasā samvidānā* AV. TS KS.
TB ⌐ 'She hath come (let her come) to us endowed with luster'
sūryasya cakṣur āruham (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
'The eye of Sūrya I have mounted (mount thou)'

sam āpo adbhir agmata VS TS ŚB TB ŚŚ ApŚ 'Waters have com-
mingled with waters' *sam āpā oṣadhībhiḥ gachantām* MS. 'Let
waters commingle with plants'

syonām āsadam suṣadām āsadam LŚ *syonām āsīda suṣadām āsīda* VS.
TS MS KS ŚB. TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'I have seated myself (sit
thou) on (a throne that is) fair, (that is) a pleasant seat' See
Conc under each half of the formula

viṣnus tvākransta (VS ŚB *tvā kramatām*) VS ŚB ApŚ.

śuciṃ te (SV *ca*) *varnam adhi goṣu dīdharam* (SV *dhāraya*) RV SV.

ud asau sūryo agāt RV AV *ud asāv etu sūryah* TB.

agnir janavin mahyam jāyām imām adāt Kauś 'Agni who obtains
people hath given me this woman to wife' *agnir janitā sa me 'mūm
jāyām dadātu* ŚG 'May Agni the begetter give me yonder woman
to wife' Similarly with *pūṣā jātivin,* and *somo vasuvin* (*janimān*)

ā tvāhārṣam antar abhūh (RV. AG Rvidh *edhi*) RV AV. TS VS MS
KS ŚB TB AG Rvidh 'I have brought thee hither, thou
hast entered (enter thou) within'

annapate 'nnasya (*annasya*) *no dehi* VS TS MS. KS ŚB TB. ApŚ
MŚ PrānāgU. AG ŚG MG. ApMB. *āśaye 'nnasya no dhehi*
Kauś : *annasyānnapatih prādāt* PB

akartām aśvinā lakṣma AV *kṛnutam lakṣmāśvinā* AV The second
precedes the first in the adjoining stanza, there is this time a clearly
intended difference of meaning 'O Aśvins, make (the Aśvins have
made) the mark' So also in the next

aśvinā gharmam pātam (MS *pibatam*) VS MS ŚB TA. ŚŚ LŚ ApŚ.
(in the sequel) *apātām aśvinā gharmam* VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ . *gharmam
apātam aśvinā* MS TA ApŚ Deliberate modulation with change
of sense, as in prec ´See §329.

dharmanā vāyum ā viśa (SV *āruhah*) RV SV.

akaram pūruṣu priyam RVKh *karotu pūruṣu priyam* HG *pūruṣu
priyam kuru* ApMB. 'I have made (let it make, make thou)
[me] dear among the Pūrus' See §302

punah prānah punar ātmā na (MS TB ApŚ HG *punar ākūtam,* TA
punar ākūtam ma, MG *punar ākūtir*) *āgāt* (VS ŚB *āgan,* AV MG
aitu) AV VS VSK MS ŚB TB TA ApŚ HG MG.

mṛdho vy āsthad abhayam no astu TB *vy āsthan mṛdho abhayam te
abhūt* AV

janiṣṭa (TS *janiṣvā,* MS *°ṣva*) *hi jenyo agre ahnām* RV. TS MS KS.
'He has been (be thou) born, noble, at the break of days'

anu ma idam vratam vratapatir manyatām MS *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir*

84 VEDIC VARIANTS I THE VERB

manyatām (KS °*patayo manyadhvam,* ŚB * °*patir amansta*) VS
TS KS GB ŚB. (bis) Vait.

idam varco (AŚ *rādho*) *agninā dattam āgāt* (AV. *āgan*) AV MS TB
AŚ *ā mā varco 'gninā dattam etu* KS

(*yam kam ca lokam agan yajñas*) *tato me bhadram abhūt* VS ŚB (*yatra
kva ca yajño 'gāt*) *tato mā dravinam aṣtu* SB *tato mā dravinam aṣtu*
(AB *āṣṭa*) VS AB SB ŚŚ See Conc. under *divam tṛtīyam,
antarikṣam tṛtīyam,* and *pṛthivīm tṛtīyam,* with their correspondents
'(To whatsoever place the sacrifice has gone,) thence welfare has
come to me (thence let wealth reach me)'

indro vājam ajayit TS. TB . *indra vājam jaya* VS MS KS ŚB

annam me puriṣya pāhi (and, *puriṣyājugupah*) Kauś (both) *annam
me (no) budhya (budhnya) pāhi tan me (no) gopāyāsmākam punar
āgamāt* MS ApŚ. *annam me (no) budhyājugupas (budhnyā°) tan
me (no) punar dehi* MS ApŚ

sapratha (MŚ °*thah*) *sabhām me gopāya* (MŚ *pāhi,* and '*jugupah*)
TB ApŚ MŚ (bis) *sabhya sabhām me pāhi* AV

sarvam tam bhasmasā (TS ŚB *masmasā*) *kuru* VS TS ŚB *sarvāns tān
maṣmaṣā* (MS † *mṛsmṛsā*) *kuru* MS KS † TA *sarvān ni maṣmaṣā-
karam* AV 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like

trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS °*gah*) VS MS ŚB *samsarpa*
(KS °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ *svargānl lokān*) KS ApŚ

pṛthivīm uparena dṛṅha TS MS . *pṛ*° *uparenādṛṅkih* (MS. TB KS.*
°*hit*) VS MS KS (both) ŚB TB

varca ā dhehi me tanvam (KS *dhāyi me tanūh*) AV KS 'Set luster in
my body', 'My body has been set in luster'

mayi dhāyi (MS *dhehi*) *suvīryam* MS TB TA

payasvān (TS TB ApMB °*vān*) *agna āgamam* AV VS TS MS KS
JB ŚB TB LŚ ApMB *payasvān agna āgahi* RV.

tam (TS KS *tam vah*) *suprītam subhṛtam akarma* (KS *abhārṣam,* VS.
bibhṛta) VS TS KS 'This (embryo) we (I) have made (main-
tained, maintain ye) pleasant and well-maintained (for you)'

abhūr gṛṣṭīnām (with variants) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV °*pā u*) AV HG.
ApMB *bhavā kṛṣṭīnām* (AV mss *gṛ*°) *abhiśastipāvā* (AV °*pā u*)
AV PG ApMB HG

devas te savitā hastam grhnātu AV *savitā hastam agrahīt* (ŚG. *agrabhīt*)
AV ŚG SMB. *savitā te hastam agrabhīt* (AG °*bhīd asau,* MG
agrahīt) AG ApMB HG MG

sakhāyah saptapadā abhūma TB ApŚ · *sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva*
ApMB. (corruptly, °*dā babhūva*) HG *sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB.
°*dā*) *bhava* AG ŚG Kauś ApMB SMB

pašūn me (ApŚ * *nah*) *šansya pāhι* MS ApŚ MŚ.: *pašūn me* (ApŚ.* *nah*) *šansyājᴜgupah* (ApŚ. °*jūg°*) MS ApŚ MŞ And other formulas ιn the same passages

§131. *Aorιst Indιcatιve and Subjunctιve ιn prιncιpal clauses*

jeṣah (and, *jeṣat, ajaιh*) *svarvatīr apah* ḶV (all). 'Thou shalt win (he shall wιn, thou hast won) the_waters rιch ιn lιght' See *RVRep.* 39

ā dadhnah kalašaιr (ApMB °*šīr*, MG °*šam*) *aguh* (AG. ApMB. *ayaɴ;* ŚG *gamaɴ,* PG *upa,* HG. *ayann ιva,* MG *aιrayam*) AV AG. ŚG. PG. HG ApMB. MG. 'Wιth mugs of sour mιlk they have (shall) come', oι the lιke

ānyāvākṣīd (VS *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryānι* VS. TB 'The bther hath brought (shall brιng) boons and treasure '

vṛṣāva cakradad (and, *cakrado*) *vane* RV · *vṛṣo acιkradad vane* SV The RV forms are counted as perfect subjunctιves, see §272

sakhāya ā śιṣāmahι (AV SV °*he*) RV AV. SV AA ŚŚ AŚ

Aorιst Indιcatιve and Injunctιve ιn prιncιpal clauses

§132 If the ιnjunctιve forms varyιng wιth presents (above) and wιth other modal forms (below) are apt to be doubtιul because also ιnterpretable as augmentlesᴀ pretentes, thιs ιs *a fortιorι* true of such as vary wιth augmented past forms There ιs, ιndeed, really nothιng that can decιde ιn such a case, whether to regard the augmentless form as a pretentιe or an ιnjunctιve, sιnce, as we have now abundantly seen, the 'true' pretentes may be used just as well as modal forms ιn any sιtua- tιon Hence, we have preferred to keep most such ιnterchanges ιɴ one group, and have classιfied them below under augmented aɴd aᴜgment- less pretentes (§264ff), ιn thιs place we add merely one or two ιnstances chosen on more or less subjectιve grounds, whιch seem rather more lιkely than most to contaιn modal value

anu (MS adds *mām,* TA *vām*) *dyāvāpṛthιvī* (MS adds *anu me) aman- sātām* (TA also *mans°,* MS '*mansā°,* p p *amansā°*) VS MS ŚB TA (bιs) ŚŚ LŚ 'Heaven and earth have favored (shall favor) me ' In adjoιnιng passages ιn TA

pūṣā mādhāt (AV *mā dhāt,* MS *nā ādhāt*) *sukṛtasya lokē* AV. TS MS ḶS 'Pūṣan hath placed (shall place) me ιn the world of pιous deed '

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS ŚB '*dhvara āsthāt,* KS '*dhvare sᵗᵌāḥ,* ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ 'The sacrιfice has stood

straight' 'stand thou upright on the sacrifice'   On ApŚ's read-
ing see §337

pra tārı (TS *prātārı) agne prataram* (TS °*rām) na āyuh* RV TS MS.
KS ApŚ   'O Agni, may our life be (our life has been) extended
further'

§133 *Aorist Indicative and Optative (Precative) in principal clauses*

devasya (devasyāham, VSK *devasya vayam) savituh prasave (save)*
      ruhcyam (GB *roheyam,* VSK *ruhema*) VS VSK TS MS KS
      GB ŚB TB Vait LŚ ApŚ MŚ   *aruham* VS ŚB   *aruhāma*
      VSK

ādıtya nāvam āruksah (AVPpp *āruham,* SMB *āroksam*) AV SMB
      sūrya nāvam āruksah AV   *ımām su nāvam* (read, *sunāvam?) āruham*
      TS KS ApŚ   *sunāvam āruheyam* VS   'O sun, thou hast (I have)
      mounted the ship', 'I have mounted (may I mount) this good
      ship'

upānśunā sam amŗtatvam ānaţ (ApMB *aśyām*) RV VS MS KS TA.
      MahānU ApŚ ApMB   'By the (soma) plant he hath reached
      (may I reach) immortality'

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah) sumatau viśvavedāh* TS KS PG   '(Agni) the
      all-possessing has become in a good humor towards me', *bhūyāsma
      te sumatau viśvavedah* (so MS intends, by its regular sandhi, text
      °*dā,* followed by vowel) MS   'May we be in thy favor, O all-pos-
      sessing (Agni)'   Cf the item *bhūyāsma te sumatau*   in Conc

tad asya prıyam abhı pātho aśyām (TB *asthām*) RV MS AB TB AŚ
      'May I attain (I have reached) that dear place of his'   But
      Poona ed of TB , text and comm , reads *aśyām*

grāvāvādīd (ApŚ *grāvā vaded) abhı somasyānśum* (ApŚ °*śunā*) KS
      ApŚ   But von Schroeder reads in KS *grāvā vaded,* with v 1
      grāvāvādīd

§134 *Aorist Indicative and Future in principal clauses*

agnım sve yonāv (VSK MS KS *yonā) abhār* (ApŚ *yonau bharışyaty)*
      ukhā VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ   'The pot hath borne
      (shall bear) Agni in her own womb'

parıdhāsyaı yaśo dhāsyaı PG   *parıdhāsye yaśo dhāsye* MG   *parīdam
      vāso adhıthāh* (HG *adhıdhāh,* ApMB *adhı dhā) svastaye* AV HG
      ApMB. The forms -*dhāsyaı* (-*dhāsye*) are uncertain, perhaps
      infinitives   See §177

tvām eva pratyaksam brahma vadısyāmı (and, *brahmāvādışam*) TA TU
      (both in each)

§135. *Aorist Indicative and Desiderative in a principal clause*

na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ. *alıpsata*) AB. ŚŚ. 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among śūdras' *alıpsata* imperf. desid.; *alapsata*, 3 pl. aor. ind.; Keith on AB. 7. 17. 3 suggests reading *alapsyata*, conditional.

§136 *Imperfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

mahyam āpo madhumad erayantām (KS. *airayanta*) AV. KS. Kauś. 'To me the waters shall send (sent) what is sweet.'

pṛṣṭheṣv erayā (SV *arrayad*) *rayim* RV. SV.

praty auhatām (MS. *ūh°*) *aśvınā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV. *asmat*) AV. VS. TS MS KS 'The Aśvins swept (shall sweep) away death from him (us).' *ūhatām* may, of course, be augmentless imperfect, or injunctive

tvām gāvo 'vṛnata rājyāya TS MS.· *tvām vıśo vṛnatām rājyāya* AV. 'Thee the cows (clans) chose (shall choose) for kingship'

pāhı (TS ApMB *āvah*) *kṣema uta yoge varam nah* RV. TS. PG. ApMB. MG.

sam devı̄ (KS *devı̄*) *devyorvaśyā paśyasva* (KS. °*orvaśyākhyata*) TS. KS. ApŚ.

vapām te agnır ışıto arohat (TS. *ışıto 'va sarpatu*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB.

vy uchā (and, *aucho*) *duhıtar dıvah* RV SV. (both in both texts).

asmān rāya uta yajñāh (KS † *yajñah*) *sacantām* TS. KS ApŚ . *asmān rāyo maghavānah sacantām* RV VS MS KS ŚB. ŚŚ : *yuṣmān rāya uta yajñā asaścata* MS

āsann ā (SV PB *āsan nah*) *pātram janayanta* (KS °*tu*) *devāh* RV. VS. TS MS KS *janayanta* may be, less probably, injunctive

dīkṣāpālāya vanatam (PB °*pālebhyo 'vanatam*) *hı śakrā* TB AŚ But see §266

uṣṇena vāya udakenehı (SMB GG *udakenaidhı*, ApMB *vāyav udakenehı*, MG *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB GG PG. ApMB. MG. 'With warm water come, O Vāyu (Vāyu came, or the like)' But the MG reading is a more than dubious imperf , if not merely corrupt, it is likely that it contains the particle *ıd*

sarasvatyā (AV. °*tyām*) *adhı manāv* (AV. *manāv*, read *manāv*; KS *mānā*, SMB *vanāva*) *acarkṛṣuh* (KS *acakṛṣuh*, SMB. *carkṛdhı*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG '(This barley) they have plowed (plow thou) on the Sarasvatī (for Sarasvatī) in behalf of Manu', or the like But Jorgensen, text and comm , reads *manāv*

acakṛṣuh for SMB; and KS has a v l. *manā acarkṛṣuh.* Probably these are the true readings

§137. *Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive in principal clauses*

ā vo rohito aśṛnod abhidyavah (AV °*tah śṛnavat sudānavah*) AV. TB. 'Rohita listened (shall listen) to you, heavenly (liberal) ones '

jātah pṛchad (SV *pṛchād*) *vi mātaram* RV. SV 'As soon as born he asked (shall ask) his mother.' Cf *vi pṛchad iti mātaram* RV. See §9

pibāt somam amadann (AV *somam mamadad*) *enam iṣṭayah* (AV *iṣ(e)* AV AŚ ŚŚ 'May he drink the soma, the sacrifices have exhilarated him (may it exhilarate him at the sacrifice) '

ayann (TB *āyann*) *arthāni kṛnavann apānsi* RV. KS TB ApŚ The parallel *kṛnavan* is a guarantee of the secondariness of *āyann* (or is the preverb *ā* contained in it?)

duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh RV *turaś cid viśvam arnavat tapasvān* AV The latter is grossly corrupt

yo mā dadāti sa id eva māvāh (ArS NṛpU *māvat*) ArS TB. TA TU NṛpU N 'Who gives me, he verily shall help (? has helped) me ' The form *avāh* or *āvāh* is very obscure and probably harbors a corruption TB comm *āvṛnoti* (apparently understanding it as a 3d sing s-aor of *ā-vṛ*), TA comm *avati*, taking it from *av*, but without any suggestion as to how the form is understood A 3d person seems required

§138 *Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive in a principal clause*

apah prerayam (SV *pratrayat,* TB *pratrayan*) *sagarasya budhnāt* RV SV TB 'Let me send (he, or they, sent) forth (songs as) water from the basin of the ocean ' See §323 But *prerayam* may be indicative.

§139 *Perfect Indicative and Imperative in principal clauses*

ni hotāram viśva·idam dadhidhve RV *ni hotāram gṛhapatim dadhidhvam* SV 'Ye have established (Agni) as all-wise hotar', 'establish ye (perfect imperative) as hotar and house-lord.'

sa nah pito (!) *madhumān ā viveśa* Kauś (secondary), 'This honeyed food hath entered us', *sa nah pito madhumān ā viśeha* KS 'O food, enter us here, honeyed' *sa no mayobhūh pito āviśasva* (ŚG PG SMB [Jorgensen] *pitav āvi*°, AŚ *pitav āviśeha*) TS TB AŚ ŚG SMB PG See §69

ireva dhanvan nı jajāsa te vıṣam AV 'Lıke fluıd on a waste hath thy
poıson dısappeared'; *sarve sākam nı jasyata* RV 'Do ye all to-
gether dısappear.' The parallel ıs remote except for the use of the
verbs

vāk tvā samudra upadadhātu (ApŚ °*dadhe*) KS ApŚ

rudro vasubhır ā cake (TS. *cıketu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Rudra with
the Vasus hath loved (shall attend to) us.'

§140 *Perfect Indıcatıve and Subjunctıve ın prıncıpal clauses*

(ın half the cases, the subjunctıve ıs from a perfect stem)

sa vıśvā pratı cāklpe AV.· *sa vıśvam pratı cāklpat* AŚ ŚŚ. 'He hath
shaped himself ınto (he shall shape) everythıng'

vavakṣa (SV. °*kṣat*) *sadyo mahı dūtyam caran* RV SV 'He (Agnı) hath
grown (shall grow) straıghtway, goıng upon hıs great mıssıon'
But SV. may be regarded as augmentless pluperfect

nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ *dadharṣayā*) AV. AA ŚŚ 'He
is not to be dared agaınst, (hıs might) dares (shall dare)' *dadhṛ-*
ṣate ıs perfect subjunctıve *dadharṣayā* appears to be a perfect from
the causatıve stem, used ın prımary sense, see §241. Cf Whıtney
on AV 6 33 2 and Keıth on AA 5 2 1. 3

manhıṣtho gīrbhır ā ca yajñıyo vavartat (SV. *vavarta*) RV. AV. SV. TB.
'(Indra) most lıberal, fit for sacrıfice, (ınduced) by our songs, shall
turn (has turned) hıtherward.' Poona ed of TB '*vavartat,* as ıf
pluperfect

sa no nedıṣtham (TS MS °*ṣthā*, VS ŚB *vıśvānı*) *havanānı joṣat* (TS
joṣate, MS *havanā jujoṣa*) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB *joṣat* and *joṣate* are
both aor subj

anyad yuṣmākam antaram babhūva (TS *bhavātı*) RV VS TS. MS. KS.
N 'Somethıng else has arısen (shall arıse) between you'

ayasā havyam ūhıṣe ApŚ ApMB HG.· *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ *ayāh san,*
and so ApMB comm explaıns, KS *ayās san,* Kauś *ayāsyam*)
havyam ūhıṣe MS KS TB AŚ ŚŚ. ApMB ApŚ Kauś HG
ayā no yajñam vahāsı KŚ 'Beıng nımble thou hast carrıed the
oblatıon (carry the sacrıfice).'

sarvam āyur vy ānaśe (MS *aśnavaı*) MS TB ApŚ *vıśvam āyur vy*
aśnavaı (AV mss *aśnavat*) AV. VS KS TB *dīrgham āyur vy*
aśnavaı PG In AV. the vulgate reads *aśnavam;* Whıtney, on 19.
55 6, would read *aśnavan,* the readıng of the mss may be kept
(subject *sabhā*). The context ıs dıfferent from the others

§141 *Perfect Indicative and Injunctive in a principal clause*

karṇābhyām bhūri vi śruvam (PG *bhūri śuśruve*) TA TU PG—TA. comm *śrūyāsam* 'Ma. I hear (I have heard, or I hear) abundantly with my ears'

§142. *Perfect Indicative and Optative in principal clauses*

stotāram id didhiṣeya (SV. *dadhiṣe*) *radāvaso* RV AV SV. 'To the poet, verily, I should wish to share out wealth, O opener of wealth!' *didhiṣeya* is opt of desiderative. The SV form is very obscure, Benfey (Glossar, p 101) follows the comm in taking it as 1st person aor subj, but it seems more likely to be felt as a perfect ind, to be sure of anomalous formation (presumably quasi-desiderative) Cf. *gṛṇīṣe* of RV., treated by Whitney, *Roots*, as pres ind Both forms must in any case be 1st person

parāvata (MS. °*tā*) *ā jagantha* (AV *jagamyāt*, TS *jagāmā*) *parasyāḥ* RV. AV SV. VS. TS MS KS *jagamyāt* is perfect opt.

indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvam aśyām (RV *ānaśa*) RV TB ApŚ 'Ye have obtained (may I obtain, aor opt) the friendship of Indra (and) immortality' Different contexts, in RV. in a relative clause, addrest to the Aṅgirases.

Past Passive Participles interchanging with moods in principal clauses

§143 The same contrast, namely between more or less assumed confidence of statement and mere desire, is brought out by the interchange between a perfect passive participle, with or without copula, and a mood. The participle is thus pretty precisely in the place of the prophetic aorist It is worth noting in this connection that the same participle also interchanges commonly with a present indicative (§246). For instance

yunajmi vāyum antarikṣeṇa (PB *yukto vāto 'nta*°) *te* (MŚ *tena) saha* TS PB ApŚ MŚ 'I yoke (yoked is) the wind with atmosphere for thee (or, with this atmosphere)'

Here the participle states the fact as accomplished in the strained sense of the prophetic aorist, while the present indicative has future modality of a lighter quality, optatival, or the like In essence such interchanges belong, for the most part, in the same sphere as the group now dealt with. By the same token modal value lurks often in the passages of present and past indicatives interchanging, §§221ff

§144. Following is the brief list of past participles exchanging with moods (see also §104, w), all the modal forms are imperatives but the last, an injunctive

sam barhır aktam (VS ŚB. *añktām,* TB ApŚ *sam añktām barhır*) *havışā ghṛtena* AV. VS ŚB TB. ApŚ. 'The barhıs has been anointed (shall anoint itself, ı e be anointed, see §87) with oblation, with ghee ' And, in the same stanza:

sam devaır viśvadevebhır aktam AV : *sam ındrena viśvebhır devebhır* (VS ŚB *ındro viśvadevebhır) añktām* VS ŚB TB ApŚ. Cf prec.

tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha (HG. *cendhı*) AG. HG. 'By this (firewood) burn and grow, thou that art kindled (and kindle!) '

ghṛtena sītā madhunā samaktā (VS MS KS ŚB. *samajyatām*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB. 'With ghee, with honey, the furrow has been (shall be) anointed.'

tan me rādhyatām (TB * SMB * *samṛdhyatām;* VS * TS * TA * *'rādhı;* Kauś * *samṛddham,* and *rāddham)* VS TS ŚB TB TA ŚŚ MŚ Kauś SMB All texts have *rādhyatām,* besides the variants as quoted 'May this succeed (this has succeeded) for me '

tān sma mānuvaṣaṭkṛthāh AŚ *ete nānuvaṣaṭkṛtāh* Vait. 'Do not say *vaṣaṭ* after these', 'these are not followed by *vaṣaṭ.*'

Interchange between Preterites and Modal forms in dependent and pro-hibitive clauses

§145 In quite a number of cases preterites of all sorts and modal forms interchange in dependent clauses We have quoted above (§99) an example from the RV itself. *yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā* 4. 42 6, *yan mā somāsa ukthıno amandışuh* 10 48 4 The tense commonly remains unchanged, but sometimes, as in the case just quoted, it is shifted without any restriction The present class of variants does not differ in any essential from the group of interchanges between presents and modal forms in dependent clauses, §§122ff. We have included here a few cases of interchange between augmented and augmentless pre-terite indicative forms, they differ from the similar cases quoted below §268 only in so far that, on subjective grounds, there seem to us to be reasons for finding injunctive force in the augmentless forms quoted here But no clear line can be drawn between the two groups, and perhaps it would have been better not to try to separate them, at least each must be considered together with the other

(a) *Aorist Indicative and Subjunctive*

yas tvā karad ckavṛṣam janānām AV 'who shall make thee chief bull of
the people', *sa tvākar ekavṛṣabham svānām* TB. 'he has made thee
chief bull of thy kinsmen '

yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā, and   *yan mā somāsa ukthino aman-
diṣuh* RV. (both)   See §99

(b) *Aorist Indicative and Injunctive*

bhūyāṅso bhūyāsta ye no bhūynso 'karta MS 'be ye more, ye who have
made us more', *bhūyānso bhūyāsma ye ca no bhūyasah kārṣta* Kauś
'may we be more, and likewise ye who shall make us more ' But,
of course, *kārṣta* may be a mere preterite in force —The same with
annādā bhū°

(c) *Imperfect Indicative and Imperative (? Injunctive)*

mṛtyoh padam (MG *padāni) yopayanto yad aita* (TA *aima,* AV *yopa-
yanta cta,* MG *lopayante yad eta*) RV AV TA MG 'When ye
(we) came (come ye, AV , when ye shall come? MG) effacing the
track of death ' AV., which lacks the conjunction *yad,* has clearly
imperative, MG. is probably corrupt in *yad eta,* but *eta* may be
understood as injunctive, or even anomalously as imperative, cf.
§123; probably, however, read *etad* in MG , see §307

(d) *Imperfect Indicative and Subjunctive*

(yam agne pṛtsu martyam) avā (TS *āvo) vājeṣu yam junāh* RV SV TS
MS KS. ŚB 'The mortal whom thou, Agni, shalt (didst) protect in
battles, shalt promote in contests ' Note that all texts agree on
junāh, which may be felt either as subj or as augmentless imperfect

[yad adya hotṛvarye (ŚŚ *°vūṛ ye)] jihmam cakṣuh parāpatat* (ŚŚ *°tāt)* ŚB.
ŚŚ ApŚ 'What today at the choice of *hotṛ* has escaped (may
escape) the crooked (=faulty) eye '

yad vāskandad dhaviṣo yatra-yatra Kauś 'or what part of the oblation
has dropped anywhere'. *yad vā skandād ājyasyota viṣno* TS KS
'moreover what part of the butter shall drop, O Viṣnu '

ahā yad dyāvo (AV. *devā) asunītim ayan* (AV *āyan)* RV AV. *ayan* seems
most simply to be taken as subjunctive, rather than augmentless
imperfect to present *ayati*

[tisro yad agne śaradas tvām ıc] chucim ghṛtena śucayah saparyān (TB.
°yan) RV TB See §8

(e) *Imperfect Indicative and Injunctive*

śatam yo nah śarado 'nayat (MŚ *nayat)* KS MŚ 'Who has brought
(shall bring) us to a hundred autumns ' Favorable to injunctive
interpretation are the readings of the parallel texts TS has an
adjective *ajūtān* for *(a)nayat;* the verb *neṣat* occurs in the following

pāda, as it does also in SMB. PG. The Conc. reading for SMB is
ajñāt, glossed *ajījanat*, but Jorgensen's edition gives *ajīyāt*, glossed
ayyāt (*aja gatiksepanayoh;* ..*gamayatv ity arthah*) PG has
jījān (Stenzler. 'der uns hundert Jahre schaffe') All these paral-
lels suggest that even KS. probably has distinctly modal force in its
'*nayat*, and the habits of Indian mss compel us to consider the
writing of *avagraha* in its text of very dubious authority; possibly
nayat, injunctive, may be even KS's real reading

(f) *Perfect Indicative and Subjunctive*·

yat te grāvnā cichiduh (MŚ *vichindat*) *soma rājan* TB Vait MŚ 'What
with the press-stone they have (one may) cut off of thee, King
Soma' *vichindat* is apparently pres subj made irregularly from
the weak stem, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §687

yat sāsahat (SV *sāsāhā*, KS † *sāsāhat*) *sadane kamcid atrinam* RV. SV.
KS 'Which shall (has) overcome every demon in his home.'

Augmentless and Augmented Prohibitives with mā

§146 In a few cases prohibitives, normally augmentless aorists, vary
with augmented forms of the same or a similar tense-system; there is
no room for change of meaning Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §579c. The
type of augmented prohibitive lasts into Pāli, or is resumed there
secondarily, see Jātaka 439 (Fausböll IV. 1, line 15), *mā mam kiñci
avaca*, 'do not tell me anything '

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat ViDh. MDh. YDh. BṛhPDh. AuśDh :
śraddhā me mā vyāgāt ApŚ

ganān me mā vi tītṛṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*) TS MŚ : *ganān me mā vy arīriṣah*
Vait : 'Do not make thirsty (injure) my troops.'

mā nah param adharam mā rajo 'naih (MŚ.† *param adhanam mā rajo
naih*) TA MŚ *mā na āyuh param avaram mānadonaih* (corrupt)
MS. Both editions of TA agreeing on '*naih* with *avagraha*, but
little importance is probably to be attached to this, cf §265

mā no rudro (MS *agnim*, p p *agnih*) *nirṛtir mā no astā* (MS *na āṣtān*,
followed by *m-*, p p *āṣthām*) MS. TA Both forms are dubious,
but TA apparently understands an augmentless 3d sing. mid of
as 'throw' (comm *asyatu*), while MS seems to understand an
augmented form of *aś* 'attain' (or, in spite of the p p , the prefix *ā*
may be contained)

§147. There is a single somewhat grotesque case of interchange
between *Perfect Indicative and Injunctive in prohibitive* (*mā*) clause:

mā tvā ke cin ni (AV *ke cid vi*) *yaman nim* (SV *ke cin ni yemur in,* TA
ke cin nyemur in [v. 1 , and comm , as SV , so read or understand
TA]) *na pāśinah* RV AV SV VS. TA   'Let not any hold thee in
check as fowlers a bird '   SV and TA are corrupt   *yemur* really
belongs to a parallel categoric construction with *na,* rather than
mā.   See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 283.

INTERCHANGES BETWEEN THE MOODS PROPER

§148 We now come to interchanges between the true or 'oblique'
moods themselves, after sketching in the preceding pages their relation
to the various indicatives   The reference-works on Sanskrit syntax
define each mood by itself; they hardly attempt seriously to mark off
the territory of one mood as compared with another   And this is wise
All the authorities recognize the freedom and indefiniteness of the use
of moods   The impv , e g , is a moderate mood of request, it includes
not only command but instruction, advice, wish, and prayer, thus cover-
ing most of the sphere of the other moods   It would serve no useful
purpose for us here to follow in the footsteps of the syntacticians and
define precisely the uses of each modal category (see in general, and
most conveniently, Delbrück, *Vergl Synt. d idg Sprachen 2* 346ff).
Rather do the following lists show the constancy of transition from one
to another, than the peculiar function of any one of them   They
represent links in a chain of modality which is scarcely broken by any
peculiar use reserved for any one of them   We have also seen (§105)
that tense-distinctions in the moods abound, but are totally without
significance.   Pres subj. and aor subj are quite identical, precative
(aor opt) has in the Veda purely optative value which does not in the
least account for the aoristic element in its make-up   Even the pro-
hibitive use of the injunctive with *mā* occasionally (tho very rarely)
yields to that of the imperative or even optative (§§159, 174, end)
Nor is the preference for aorist, rather than present (imperfect), in-
junctive by any means a settled fact, as far as the Veda is concerned
(§211)   As far as we can observe, any one of the true moods may inter-
change with any other, certainly in principal sentences, but also to a
considerable extent in subordinate clauses

III. IMPERATIVE IN EXCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§149 The imperative, in addition to its very frequent reciprocity
with indicatives (already treated), interchanges with subjunctive,

injunctive, optative, precative, future, and infinitive. This order is
followed in the sequel   In addition, the class of mixed imperative-
subjunctive forms, treated below (§173), contains cases which involve
not only the proper subj , but also those mixed forms which are part
impv and part subj.   And the second person modal forms in *si* and
se (§§164f), themselves classed as imperatives, alternate with regular
impv forms   Finally the impv. is used also, tho very rarely, as pro-
hibitive with *mā*, exchanging with prohibitive injunctives (§159).

§150 The impv. in *tāt* shows in these interchanges a character in no
wise different from that of the ordinary impv.   See the relation of RV.
1. 48 15 to 8 9 1, described above, §100, and several examples under
the heading 'Instances of more than two modal varieties', §104. Cf.
also the section on Imperatives in *tāt* exchanging with other Imperatives,
§254.

Imperative and Subjunctive

§151 It will be convenient to assort this large group into three
subdivisions. Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or
person; without change of tense but with change of person, and with
change of tense, with or without change of person

§152 *Imperative and Subjunctive without change of tense or person*

ādityās tad aṅgirasaś cinvantu TB : *viśve devā aṅgirasaś cinvan* KS.
     ApŚ 'May the Ādityas (All-gods) and Aṅgirases pile (that).'

svāduḥ pavāte (SV. *pavatām*) *ati vāram avyam* RV SV   'May the sweet
     (soma) strain itself thru the wool '

sā dīkṣitā sanavo vājam asme (MŚ *vācam asmāt*) TS. MŚ   *sā samnaddhā
     sanuhi vājam emam* (MG *sunuhi bhāgadheyam*) AV † MG.

sviṣṭim nas tām (AV erroneously, *tān*) *kṛnavad* (TS *kṛnotu*) *viśvakarmā*
     (MS *tām viśvakarmā kṛnotu*) AV. TS. MS

sa no mṛdātidṛśe RV. AV. TS MS KS ApMB N.. *te no mṛdantv īdṛśe*
     AV (*vikāra* of the prec , used in same hymn): *tā no mṛdāta* (VSK.
     mṛl°) *īdṛśe* RV. SV VS VSK TS. KS.

vaiśvānarah pavitā mā punātu AV.: *vaiśvānarah pavayān naḥ pavitraih*
     TA

te no rayim sarvavīram ni yachān (HG *yachantu*) AV HG

agnir havyam (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV.
     VS TS MS KS.

ā sīdāti (SV. °*atu*) *kalaśam devayur nah* (SV. *deva induḥ*) RV. SV.
sarvam punatha (VDh. *punīta*) *me pāpam* BDh ViDh.

sarvam punatha me yavāh BDh · *tat punīdhvam* (and, *punīdhvam ca*)
yavā mama ViDh

iṣṭāpūrte (KS. °*tam*) *kṛnavāthāvir* (VSK ŚB. *kṛnavathāvir*, TS KS
TB MŚ *kṛnutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS. VSK. TS KS. TB.
ŚB MŚ · *iṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛnutāvir asmai* AV.

punas te prāna āyāti (AŚ °*tu*, TS † *āyati*) TS TA AŚ

brahmadviṣaṁ dyaur abhisamtapāti AV · *brahmadviṣam abhi tam śocatu
dyauh* RV.

vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, HG *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB
bhṛjāsi, v. 1 *bhajasi*, HG *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV SMB HG. ApMB
The HG reading is uncertain, see Whitney on AV 19 24 6

mama cittam cittenānvehi HG · *mama cittam upāyasi* AV   For other
similar items see Conc

tābhir vahainam (TA *vahemam*, TB ApŚ *vahāsi mā*, om *tābhir*, KS.†
vahānsi sā! [read probably *vahāsi mā*]) *sukṛtām yatra* (RV AV
°*tām u*) *lokāh* (KS *lokah*, RV AV *lokam*) RV AV KS. TB TA
ApŚ

śivah śagmo bhavāsi nah TB. ApŚ   *śivā ca me śagmā caidhi* TB. ApŚ

jarām (AV. adds *su*) *gachāsi* (AVi PG *gacha*) *pari dhatsva vāsah* AV
PG ApMB HG.

sa gharmam invāt (AV *indhām*) *parame sadhasthe* RV AV

idam me karmedam vīryam putro 'nusamtanotu VSK KŚ   *idam me
'yam vīryam putro 'nusamtanavat* ŚB

saputrikāyām jāgratha PG . *yajamānāya jāgṛta* ApŚ

nihāram ca harāsi (VSK °*raṁ niharāsi*) *me* VS VSK. ŚB . *nihāram in
ni me hara* (TS † *harā*) TS KS

jyok pitṛṣu āstām (and, *āsātai*) AV. 'Sit she long with her fathers.'
Both in the same hymn; a conscious *vikāra*

uṣā no ahna ā bhajād (and, *ahne pari dadātu*) AV (both)

śravad (and: *śrutām, śravan*) *brahmāny āvasā gamat* (and· *gatām, gaman*)
ŚŚ (all)   'Let him (them) hear the holy words and come with aid '
Here belongs also, presumably·

edhasva yamarājasu AV · *edhāsaṁ yamarājye* TA   The comm on
edhāsam says, *edhasva vardhasva* (!).   The Conc suggests *edhāse*,
both versions would then mean, 'thrive thou in the kingdom of
Yama (among those whose king is Yama) '

Imperative and Subjunctive, without change of tense but with change of person

§153 The particular interest of this subdivision is that 2d person
imperatives vary constantly with 3d person subjunctives   This alter-

nation goes back to RV. itself, see §§93, 95 Metrical convenience is often associated with the shift. A few examples of change of person also occur in the next subdivision.

yathāvaśam tanvam (AV °*vah*) *kalpayasva* (AV. VS °*yāti*) RV. AV. VS 'Fashion (or, may he fashion) the body (bodies) according to his will' The impv. *kalpayatu* would be metrically inferior.

sa no vasūny ā bhara (SV *bharāt*) RV SV AV. VS TS. MS KS 'bring (let him bring) wealth to us' Cf *sa no viśvāny ā bhara* RV. The impv *bharatu* would be hypermetric

upasadyo namasyo yathāsat (AV *bhaveha*) AV. TS. MS 'That he may be (be thou here) an object of attention and homage.'

pavamāno vy aśnavat (SV °*nā vy aśnuhi*) RV SV.

indrāya pathibhir vahān (MS *vaha*) VS. MS KS. TB.

iha sphātim sam ā vahān (and, *vaha*) AV (both)

bodhā stotre vayo dadhat (ApŚ *vayovṛdhah*) RV SV ApŚ.: *bodhāt sto- mair vayo dadhat* MS There is a v 1 *bodhā* in MS. See §§24, 341.

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG *āyur no viśvato dadhat* AV.

tān ādityān anu madā (MS *madāt*) *svastaye* RV. MS. See §315. The reading of MS is uncertain, its p p. has *mada*, if this is the true reading the variant belongs here, if *madā* is 1st pers subj; but it may also be 2d sing impv (so RV. p p).

niṣīdan no apa durmatim jahi (TS *hanat*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB.

pibatam somyam madhu RV (quinquies) SV *pibāh so° ma°* RV. (semel) SV

sameddhāram anhasa uruṣyāt (ŚŚ *anhasah pāhi*) RV. ŚŚ.

The following two contain corruptions.

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA *āya;* MS *loke nidhir ajarāya*) AV. MS TA AV has a clear subjunctive, TA's form may possibly be understood as a 2d impv, thematic, MS is hopelessly corrupt

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB, as Kirste says *ad loc*

§154 *Imperative and Subjunctive with change of tense*

apeyam rātry uchatu AV 'let this night fade away', *aped u hāsate tamah* RV 'now may darkness slink away'

tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate (MS ŚB ŚŚ. *vanutām*) TS. MS ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ But *vanate* may be pres ind, see §116, 191

so 'dhvarā karati jātavedāh AB *kṛnotu so adhvarāñ* (VS TB °*rā*) *jātavedāh* VS. MS KS TB ApŚ 'Let Jātavedas perform the

sacrifice.' Cf. *kṛṇutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ , and *svadhvarā*
etc in RV., §95

prabudhe nah punas (KS *puras*) *kṛdhi* (TS *punar dadah*) VS TS MS
     KS ŚB.   Make us again awake', or the like

sampriyah (TA °*yam prajayā*) *paśubhir bhuvat* (MS ApŚ *bhava*) MS
     TB TA ApŚ

mātevāsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG. *aditih śarma yansat*) AV TS MS
     KS TB TA ŚG ApMB

sammiślo aruṣo bhava (SV *bhuvah*) RV SV

sa nah pūrnena vāvanat (AV *yachatu*) AV TS KS ApMB   ·

uta trātā śivo bhavā (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB
     Kauś

rayim ca nah sarvavīram (TS † °*rām*) *ni yachatu* (AV *yachāt*) AV. TS
     MS   *sa no rayim sarvavīram ni yachatu* VS VSK ŚB   *somo
     rayim sahavīram ni yaṅsat* KS.

uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat (AV *yachatu*) RV AV TS KS

jayatābhītvarīm jayatābhītvaryāh (text, corruptly, °*yā*) AŚ · *jeṣathābhī-
     tvarīm jeṣathābhītvaryāh* KB ŚŚ

gārhapatya un no neṣat TA   *gārhapatyā un ninetu* MS

aviṣam nah pitum kṛnu (KS *kṛdhi,* TB ApŚ *karat*) VS 2. 20 (omitted
     in Conc.) TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ   The version with *kṛnu* is also
     found in TB 1 2 1 25d

ādityair no aditih śarma yansat (and, *yachatu*) RV (both)

āyur viśvāyuh pari pāsati (AV *pātu*) *tvā* RV AV TA

śam astu tanve mama AV · *śam v astu tanvai tava* VS   *śam u te tanve
     bhuvat* TS KSA

[By a slip the Conc quotes *svāveśo anamīvā bhavā nah* (Kauś °*mīvā na
     edhi*) RV TS MS. Kauś SMB PG. ApMB with *bhuvā* as ApMB 's
     reading, but it has *bhavā* like the rest]

Imperative and Injunctive

§155 The opportunity for interchange between these moods is
lessened by the fact that their forms are identical at many points of their
respective paradigms   Of course this means that our grammatical
classifications break down at this point   Despite this, the interchanges
are not much less numerous than those between Imperative and Sub-
junctive   We present them in four groups first, those which involve
no change of tense or person, second, those which involve change of
person, third, those with change of tense; fourth, prohibitive clauses with
mā, a small group of exceptional interest, presenting a rivalry between

these two moods which begins (practically) in the later Vedic texts (cf.
Whitney, *Grammar* §579c) and continues thruout classical Sanskrit.

Imperative and Injunctive without change of tense or person

§156. The interchanges in the 2d singular concern in most cases
presence or absence of *visarga* (e g *vaha·vahah*) and in all (four) such
instances happen to occur at the end of a pāda, they may to some extent
be due to phonetic indistinctness of *h*, see §25.

viśvasmāt (TA *divo vi°*) *sīm aghāyata uruṣya* (TA. °*yah*) RV. TA.
'Deliver him from every evil-doer (of the sky).'

pra-pra yajñapatim tira (TA *tirah*) AV. VS. TS MS. KS. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.
ApŚ Uncertain· Poona ed. of TA. reads *tira* in text and comm
recording *tirah* as v. 1 in both. 'Promote farther and farther the
patron of the sacrifice.'

ni dūraśravase vaha (ŚŚ. *vahah*) AV. ŚŚ 'Bring to the far-famed.'

sūryasya tapas tapa (MS MŚ.† *tapah*) MS TA. ApŚ MŚ. 'Heat the
heat of the sun.' But perhaps the second *tapah* is felt as a noun,
for MS. accents it as well as the first *tapah*.

asmabhyam indra varivah (AV *varīyah*) *sugam kṛdhi* RV. AV.: *asma-
bhyam mahi varivah sugam kah* RV. See §92.

indro marutvān sa dadātu tan me (and, *dadād idam me*) AV. (both).

agnim nakṣanta (SV. °*tu*) *no girah* RV. SV.

ā no viśva (MS. °*vā*) *āskrā* (TB. *viśve askrā*) *gamantu* (MS. °*ta*) *devāh*
RV. MS TB. AŚ.

ābhur (ŚG *mātur*) *anyo 'pa* (ApMB. ŚG. '*va*) *padyatām* (ŚG. °*ta*)
ApŚ ŚG HG. ApMB.

śrīr me bhajatu TA *śrī me bhajata* MahānU.

alakṣmī me naśyatu (MahānU. °*ta*) TA MahānU. Cf. *alakṣmir me
naśyatām* RVKh

ādityā rudrā vasavo juṣanta (AV. °*tām*) RV. AV.

(*ud u tvā viśve devā*) *agne bharantu* (MS. also, *bharanta*) *cittibhih* VS.
TS MS (both) KS. ŚB.

vāyo ve (TS. ApŚ *vīhi;* Kauś text, erroneously, *vāyave*) *stokānām* (KS †
ve stokānām, VSK adds *juṣānah*) VS VSK. TS. KS 3 6 (reference
omitted in Conc) ŚB ApŚ

viśve devāh samanaso juṣanta (TS *bhavantu*) RV. TS

ni vo jāmayo jihatā (ŚŚ °*tām*) *ny ajāmayah* KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'May they
who are related or not related stoop to you ' *jihatā* is 3 pl injunc-
tive But the long *ā*, followed by a nasal consonant, tempts one·
to read °*tām* with ŚŚ

aryo naśanta (SV. *nah santu*) *saniṣanta* (SV.† °*tu*) *no dhiyah* RV SV
        See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 72

§157. *Imperative and Injunctive, without change of tense but with change of person*

sam arīr (MS KS *arir*) *vidām* (KS *vidah*) VS MS KS ŚB   'Let the
        noble (or, do thou, noble) meet together '

mahyam (in MŚ this belongs to the prec pāda) *yajamānāya tiṣtha*
        (MŚ ed *tiṣthatu*, but mss *tiṣthat*, so read) TS MŚ

arṣan (SV *arṣā*) *mitrasya varunasya dharmaṇā* RV SV   Soma is subject
        in both, change to direct address in SV

§158 *Imperative and Injunctive, with change of tense* (in a few cases
also with change of person)

yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāh TB ApŚ   'O sacrifice, found thyself
        upon benevolence, well-disposed', *yajñah praty u ṣthāt sumatau*
        matīnām MŚ   'May the sacrifice found itself upon benevolence
        of thoughts '

marutām (MS * *sapatnahā ma*°) *prasave* (VS ŚB °*vena*) *jaya* (TS *
        jayata, TS * TB ApŚ *jeṣam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ
        'Conquer (may I conquer, rival-slaying) on the impulse of the
        Maruts '

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ † *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ *dhāh*) KS.
        MŚ   'May the sacrifice snugly place life (place thou snugly life,
        sacrifice) in the patron of the sacrifice '

        The rest have no change of person

tvam bhavādhipatir (AV *bhūr abhibhūtir*) *janānām* AV MS KS

punar ma ātmā punar āyur āgāt (MG *aitu*) TB HG MG   Cf. *punar*
        manah   āgāt (*āgan*) in Conc , and next

punaś cakṣuh punah śrotram na āgan (VSK TA SMB *āgāt*) VS VSK
        ŚB TA SMB   *punaś cakṣuh punar asur na aitu* AV   Cf prec

amaiṣām cittam prabudhām (TS KS °*dhā*) *vi neśat* (KS *nasyatu*) RV
        AV. TS KS   'Among themselves let their plan thru thy wisdom
        (or, the plan of the wise) fall thru '   AVPpp also has *nasyatu*, the
        two prec pādas in AV are *jagatī*

tasya no rāsva tasya no dhehi (AŚ *dāh*) AV AŚ

prajām asmāsu dhehi VS   *prajām me dāh* VS TS MS ŚB TA

ojo mayi dhehi VS TB   *ojo me dāh* AV VS   Similarly in items be-
        ginning *saho, balam, āyur, srotram, cakṣur, vācam, varco, tejo,*
        payo, rayim

agne rucām pate   mayi rucam dhāh (KS *dhehi*; ApŚ. *rucam mayi dhāh*)
MS KS ApŚ.

ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi TS   *adah su madhu madhunābhi
yodhāh* RV AV SV. AA MŚ   For *yodhi* see Whitney, *Grammar*
§839, but the form is probably corrupt, see §25

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat PG   *yaśo bhagasya* (read, *bhagaś ca*) *vindatu*
ArS

§159 *Imperative and Injunctive in Prohibitive clauses with mā*

mā savyena dakṣinam atikrāmīh (GG °*krāma*) GG HG   'Do not cross
the right (foot) with the left '

mā jñātāram mā pratiṣṭhām vidanta (AG † *vindantu*) AV AG   'Let them
find no acquaintance, no support '   It is significant that the late
text AG changes the inj to impv

mā somam pātv asomapah Kauś   *mā pāt* (text, *yāt'*) *somam asomapah*
LŚ   'Let the non-soma-drinker not drink the soma '

mā nah soma hvarito vihvarasva MŚ [so probably to be read, with Conc.;
Knauer's text, *harivo* (em for mss *hvarivo*, Knauer in a private
letter suggested 'read *hvarito*, certainly') *vihvaras tvam* (mss *vihvara-
dhvam*, one ms °*dhva*)], 'do not, O soma, fail, having gone wrong';
mā no gharma vyathito vivyadhūt (TA *vivyatho nah*) MS TA. 'do
not, O hot drink (let not the hot drink), when shaken, injure (shake)
us '   Somewhat uncertain, because of the bad condition of MŚ ,
see §332

Imperative and Optative

§160. This class is smaller than the preceding and subdivision is
unnecessary.   There is but one case of change of tense, the first example;
but change of person is frequent   A certain predilection for the impera-
tive rather than the optative in the second person is noticeable.

aredatā (KS 5 3 *ahedatā* (by conjecture in ed , but read *are°* with
v Schroeder on 32 3, n 3) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ *gamyāt*) MS
KS (bis) ApŚ   'With undisturbed mind go thou (may he go)
to the gods '

agnir dīkṣitah prthivī dīkṣā sā mā dīkṣā dīkṣayatu (JB *dīkṣeta*) JB. AnŚ.
'The consecrated one is Agni, the consecration is earth, let that
consecration consecrate me '   The same with *vāyur dīkṣitah, ādityo
dīkṣitah, prajāpatir* etc , see ApŚ 10 10. 6.

araḷṣasā manasā taj juṣeta (KS *juṣethāh*; TS MS *juṣasva*) RV. VS.
TS MS KS ŚB

pratiṣṭhām gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB *gamayet*)
    AB. GB Gaastra on GB p 42 considers its reading corrupt and
    would read as AB.

svargam arvanto jayema Vait : *svargān arvanto jayata* SV. ŚŚ.· *svagān*(!)
    ar° jayatah AŚ. (corrupt)

mitrāya havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (KS. °*vad vidhema*) RV KS MŚ. N.

satyāya havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (TS. KS °*vad vidhema*) TS KS. TB
    ApŚ

tasmā u havyam ghṛtavaj juhota (TS ApMB. °*vad vidhema*) TS ŚŚ ŚG
    ApMB : *dhātra id dhavyam ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmrājyam gacha* (VSK *gachatāt*, MŚ.
    gachet) VS. VSK TS ŚB. MŚ

bharatam uddharem anuṣṭñca (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣanti?*) TB ApŚ.
    MŚ. See §304.

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ °*yadhvam*) TS. TB. ApŚ MŚ·
    nākasya pṛṣṭhe sam iṣā madema AV.

havyā no asya haviṣah śṛnotu (AV. *haviṣo juṣeta*, TS *haviṣaś ciketu*, ŚŚ
    haviṣah kṛnotu) AV. TS MS. KS AŚ ŚŚ

āyajatām (MŚ *āyajeyātām*) *ejyā iṣah* VS. MS KS ŚB TB AŚ MŚ

āvyuṣam jāgṛtād aham AV . *dvyuṣam jāgṛiyād aham* RVKh   So Conc.,
    following Aufrecht for RVKh , but Scheftelowitz reports that his
    ms reads *jāgṛyāmy*, and he emends to *jāgṛyām*, which seems the
    only possible reading.

Imperative and Precative

§161. The precative is merely an aorist optative and does not differ,
in the Veda, from the regular optative in any way. It interchanges
with the imperative about a dozen times, with or without change of
person:

agne tejasvin tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāh TS . *agna āyuhkārāyuṣmāns
    tvam tejasvān deveṣv edhi* MS   'O Agni   be thou brilliant among
    the gods '

āyur dātra edhi VS. ŚB ŚŚ 'be thou life to the giver'; *mayo dātre bhūyāt*
    MS 'let there be delight to the giver ' Cf next

vayo dātre (KS PB. add *bhūyān*, VSK. *dātra edhi*) *mayo mahyam* (TB
    TA. ApŚ *mahyam astu*) *pratigrahitre* VSK KS PB. TB. TA ApŚ.
    Cf. prec

durmitrās (°*triyās*, °*tryāś*) *tasmai santu* (KS * TB TA. MahānU BDh
    bhūyāsur) *yo 'smān* (MS *asmān*) *dveṣti* VS TS MS KS (bis) ŚB.
    TB. TA. AŚ ŚŚ LŚ. MahānU. BDh.

druhah pāśān (TS. KS *pāśaṁ*) *prati sa* (KS *ṣū*) *mucīṣṭa* (AV *prati muñcatām sah*) RV. AV TS MS. KS

yo no dveṣṭy adharah sas padīṣṭa (MS MŚ *sa padyatām*) RV AV MS. KS   (The ms of KS *sas*; ed wrongly emends to *sa*)

yena tvam deva veda (ŚŚ *tvam veda*) *devebhyo vedo 'bhavas tena mahyam* (ŚŚ *tenāsmabhyam*) *vedo bhūyāh* (VSK *bhava*, ŚŚ *veda edhi*) VS. VSK ŚB ŚŚ

suyame me (ApŚ *me adya ghṛtācī*) *bhūyāstam* VS ApŚ : *sūyame me 'dya stam* MS

bahvīr me bhavata (TS *bhūyāsta*) TS KS   *bahvīr bhavata* MS

yathendram dawīr viśo maruto 'nuvartmāno 'bhavann (TS *'nuvartmāna*) *evam imam yajamānam dawīs ca viśo mānuṣīś cānuvartmāno bhavantu* . (VSK *bhūyāsuh*) VS VSK TS MS KS

achidrah prajayā bhūyāsam ApŚ ApMB HG cf *ariṣṭā asmākam vīrāh santu* ApŚ ApMB *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma* (text, *bhuyāh sma*) LŚ.

śunam ma iṣṭam . bhūyāt MS . *svam ma iṣṭam astu*   KS

samjīvā (°*jīvikā*) *nāma stha tā imam* (AŚ *imam amum*) *samjīvayata* MS. AŚ ApŚ.. *samjīvā stha samjīvyāsam* AV

sā me satyāśīr deveṣu bhūyāt (Vait °*ṣv astu*) TS Vait

Imperative and Future

§162. The future is, in general, more certain than any of the moods (Delbruck, *AISynt* 289), but, whenever a future form deals with an event in the future that is not considered quite certain, the barrier between it and the moods falls. And, like other indicatives, it is used in the Veda of things which the poets represent as more certain than they really are, for tactical (magical) reasons Only a couple of interchanges between it and the imperative have been noted, but compare below the interchanges of future with subjunctive, optative, and precative.

vāg ārtvijyam kariṣyati (ApŚ *karotu*) ŚŚ ApŚ 'Speech will (shall) do the office of priest ' Unmetrical, but ŚŚ is made to simulate meter.

rāyaś ca poṣam upasaṁvyayasva AV HG ApMB · *rayim ca putrān anusamvyayasva* PG : *rāyas poṣam abhi samvyayiṣye* PG. MG. 'Wrap thyself (I shall wrap myself) up in prosperity of wealth '

§163. *Imperative and Infinitive*

dyumnaṁ (KS. also, °*ne*) *vṛnīta puṣyase* (KS *vareta puṣyatu*) RV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB 'May he choose glory, that he may thrive (let him thrive).'

brāhmanāns tarpayitavā ıtı sampresyatı ApŚ 4. 16 17 *brāhmanāñs
tarpayeh presyah* MŚ. 'He gives the order, Treat the brahmans!"
This use of the ınfinıtıve ın dırect dıscourse (not ımmedıately
dependıng on a verb of command, ın whıch case the ınfin would be
regular, see Delbruck, *AISynt* 427, Speyer, *Ved u Skt Synt*
§217) seems to be peculıar to ApŚ , where ıt occurs at least twıce
more *uccaıh samāhantavā ıtı sampresyatı* 1 20 1, 'he gıves the
order, Beat loudly together!", and *trıs phalīkartavā ıtı sampresyatı*
1. 20 11, 'he gıves the order, Thrıce clean the graın ' On the last the
comm says *phalīkaranam trıh kartavyam ıty arthah* The *ıtı*
ın such phrases seems to exclude the ınfinıtıve from dırect govern-
ment by the verb of command. Nevertheless the ınfin of com-
mand ıs doubtless the ellıptıcal resıdue of an ınfin dependent on a
verb of command [ıf it ıs not, after all, felt as governed by the
followıng *sampresyati*, despıte the *ıtı*, such ıllogıcal mıxture of
dırect and ındırect forms of speech ıs not unknown—F. E]   For
the general and comparatıve aspects of the ınfin. as ımpv. see
Delbrück, *Vergl Synt* 2 453ff.

IV IMPERATIVE SECOND SINGULAR IN *sı* AND (?) *se*

§164. In the Rıgveda occur a number of modal forms restrıcted to the
2d sıngular, they are formed by addıng *sı* dırectly to the strong form of
the root wıthout other stem or mood formatıve. See Whıtney, *Gram-
mar* §624, Delbruck, *Altındısches Verbum* §30, *Altındısche Syntax* 365,
Speyer, *Ved u. Skt Synt* §188, n. 2, Neısser, *BB* 7. 230 ff.   Imperatıve
value ıs generally assıgned to them, because they are frequently accom-
panıed by other ımpv. forms ın the same sentence. Now ıt ıs ınterestıng
to note that our repetıtıons do ın fact, ın a case or two, substıtute an
ımpv. form for such a form ın *sı*, and further that forms ın *sı* are not
entırely lımıted to passages occurrıng ın the RV
deva somaısa te lokas tasmıñ cham ca vaksva parı ca vaksva (VSK *lokah
parı ca vaksı sam ca vaksı*, ŚBK *tasmıñ cham parı ca vaksı sam ca
vaksı*) VS VSK ŚB ŚBK. Cf. *sam ca vaksı parı ca vaksı* MS TA
ApŚ   'Thıs ıs thy statıon, god Soma, ın ıt thrıve thou well and
thoroly.'   The verb concerned seems to be *vaks* 'grow', tho Mahı-
dhara on VS refers the form to *vah* 'carry'   In eıther case we have
a modal 2d person ın *sı*, exchangıng wıth an ımpv. ın *sva*, and that
ın YV. texts only
dhıyā na (SV. *no*) *vājañ upa māsı* (SV. *māhi*) *śaśvatah* RV. SV   Cf
next

stuto yāsı (RV. *yāhı*) *vaśān anu* RV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. 'Praised,
O Indra, go after our desire.' In this and the prec , of course, the
forms in *sı* may be construed as indicative (so Keith on TS). Yet
the atmosphere of the passages, together with the unambiguous
impv. of the variant forms, seems to suggest modal value

sam ındra no (no) manasā neṣı (AV. *neṣa*) *gobhıh* RV AV. VS. TS MS.
KS. ŚB TB. AVPpp. reads *neṣı*, showing that *neṣa* (aor. impv.) is
a somewhat precarious nonce-formation

Of equal interest is the substitution in TS of a form in *sı* for a RV.
injunctive, it is the more remarkable because it occurs in a subordinate
clause (introduced by *yad*)

pıtr̥̄n yakṣad (TS *yakṣy*) *r̥tāvr̥dhah* RV VS TS KS   'When he shall
(thou shalt) sacrifice to the fathers who prosper the *r̥ta* '

§165. We append here a couple of cases in which forms in *se* inter-
change with imperatives in *dhı* (*hı*). It is possible that the *se*-forms
are modal (imperative, or subjunctive?) middle forms corresponding to
the actives in *sı*, but the forms are isolated and ambiguous. Perhaps
here belongs *dhıṣe;* see §219, *vıśvā adhı śrıyo* etc

ındro vıde tam u stuṣe (Mahānāmnyah *stuhı*) AA Mahānāmnyah
'Indra finds, him do thou praise ' But *stuṣe* may mean 'I praise';
so Keith

kr̥ṣım susasyām ut kr̥ṣe (KS *kr̥dhı*) MS KS. MŚ. 'The furrow, well-
grown with grain, draw thou up ' The verb is problematic in form
and meaning, one is almost led to suspect that both *kr̥ṣe* and *kr̥dhı*
are from *kr̥ṣ* 'plow' (!)

V SUBJUNCTIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§166. The subjunctive exchanges with the indicative (§§117ff , 124,
131, 137, 140, 145, a, d, f), the imperative (§151ff.), and further with
injunctive, optative, precative, future, and desiderative. The first
persons, as already remarked, do duty also as imperatives; we treat them
here rather than as impvs In principal clauses there is no perceptible
difference between the subj and its rival moods In dependent clauses
the 2d person impv does not alternate with subjs (§95, note 11), but
the ind , 3d person impv , inj and opt are fairly common and normal.

Subjunctive and Injunctive

§167. Alternation between these moods is not very rare, particularly
in principal clauses, and there are a few cases of subordinate clauses
which we have classified here Included are some cases with coincident

change of tense and person, and there is a single instance of a prohibitive
clause with *mā*   Some of the forms which we have classified as injunc-
tives may, of course, be regarded perhaps equally well as preterite
indicatives without augment, in that case they would belong in §§131,
137, 145.

tasmai devā adhi bravan (MS KS. TB. [comm. and Poona ed. text]
        ApŚ *bruvan*) VS TS. MS. KS TB. ApŚ. 'May the gods bless him '
tasmai somo adhi bravat (KS. *bruvat*) RV AV. KS
pra bravāma (MS *bru°, v.* 1 *bra°*) *śaradah śatam* VS MS TA. ApMB.
    HG. MG.
upa śravat (MS *śruvat*, p p. *śravat*) *subhagā yajñe asmin* RV. MS. 'May
    the blessed (Sarasvatī) listen to us at this sacrifice.' *śruvat*, if not
    merely a corruption, is a tentative and precarious formation
    modelled on forms like *bruvat* in the two preceding cases, see §23
    where such cases are considered from the phonetic point of view.
agnir havyāni sisvadat RV : *agnir havyā suṣūdati* RV.
iṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat (TB * †vākṣīt*) VS MS KS. TB   'Let one
    bring refreshment and food '
prācīnam sīdat (MS. *sīdāt*) *pradiśā pṛthivyāh* VS MS KS TB
yajamānāya vāryam ā suvas kar asmai TA   *yajñapataye vāryam ā svas
    kah* MS · *yajñapataye vasu vāryam āsamskarase* ŚŚ
pra śmaśru (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV. *ūrdhvadhā
    bhuvat*) RV. SV. So to be classed if *bhuvat* is a subjunctive from
    the root-aorist (*a*)*bhūt*   But augmented forms in *-vat* occur (see
    Whitney, *Roots*), and both forms may be injunctive, or indeed
    preterite indic   Cf next
sa tvaitebhyah pari dadat (TA *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyah* RV AV TA N   'He
    shall hand thee over to these manes ' Both forms ambiguous,
    somewhat as in the preceding
   §168. In subordinate clauses the subjunctive is much commoner
than the injunctive (cf. §§124f), but some cases of the latter seem to
occur, besides those similar forms which we have preferred to regard as
preterite indicatives exchanging with subjunctives (§145).
āyusmān (AV *°mān*) *jaradaṣṭir yathāsam* (AV. *°sāni*) RVKh VS AV ·
        yathāsat AV AG PG ApMB. See Conc for similar pādas
    'That I (he) may reach old age ' The pāda occurs in four different
    verses. one in RVKh VS , two different ones in AV., and a fourth
    in the Gṛhya texts
yad iti mām atimanyadhvam HG · *yadi mām atimanyādhvai* ApMB
    'When (if) you (thus) disdain me '

yatra (SV. *yatrā*) *devā ıtı bravan* (SV. *bruvan*) RV. SV. 'Where people may say "gods".' Of course *bruvan* may be considered ındıc.

The sıngle case of a prohıbıtıve wıth *mā* ıs·

sakhyāt te mā yoṣam TB ApŚ ApMB HG. 'May I not be separated from thy friendshıp'· *sakhyam te mā yoṣāh* SMB. 'do not wıthhold thy frıendshıp'

Subjunctıve and Optatıve

§169. This interchange is most frequent in first-person forms, where the subj. also does duty as ımpv But the following examples ınclude several of 3d person, and others, as well as one of 2d person, wıll be found among the interchanges of more than two modal forms, §104 above Several cases occur in subordınate clauses One case involves change of tense See also §96 for a RV case.

vıdād (SV *vıded*) *ūrjam śatakratur vıdād* (SV *vıded*) *iṣam* RV. SV. 'May (Indra) the possessor of hundred-fold wisdom obtain food, obtaın refreshment'

tmā nu kam bhuvanā sīṣadhāma (SV TA. ApŚ. MŚ °*dhema*) RV. AV. SV. VS AB. KB. GB AA. TA. MŚ. ApŚ. AŚ ŚŚ Vait. 'Let us now brıng success to these worlds'

śṛnuyāma (TA ApMB. HG. *śṛnavāma*) *śaradah śatam* VS. MS. TA. PG. MG ApMB. HG.

bhavāma (AV *bhavema*) *śaradah śatam* AV TA ApMB. HG.

vıbhum kāmam (VS. *vıbhūn kāmān*) *vy aśnavaı* (MS. *aśīya*) VS MS KS. TB.

athaınam jarımā nayet HG : *yathaınam jarase nayāt* AV.

In the last the subj occurs in a subordınate clause, which is made a prıncıpal clause wıth the opt form In the following both forms occur ın subordınate clauses:

(*bhūmyā vṛtvāya no brūhı*) *yatah khanema* (TS *khanāma*) *tam vayam* VS TS MS KS.

yasyām uśantah praharāma (AV. ApMB HG °*rema*) *śepam* (AV. *śepah*) RV AV PG. ApMB HG. N. 'In whom (the bride) we may eagerly ınsert the member'

yathā pumān bhaved ıha MŚ.: *yatheha puruṣo 'sat* (SMB *puruṣah syāt*) VS ŚŚ ApŚ Kauś SMB.

§170. Subjunctive and Precatıve

aham evedam sarvam asānı (ŚB BrhU. °*vam bhūyāsam*) ŚB. BṛhU. ChU 'May I myself be (or become) thıs entıre world.'

yan madhuno   tenāham madhuno   'sāni (HG *bhūyāsam*) PG ApMB
HG

§171. *Subjunctive and Future*

varaṇo vārayātai (and, *vārayiṣyate*) AV (both) 'the (amulet) made of
    varana-wood shall defend' *varuno* (but Poona ed with comm
    varano) *vāriṣyāt* TA.

bhavāsi putrānām mātā AV   *teṣām mātā bhaviṣyasi* ŚG

agnau kariṣyāmi GG BDh   *agnau karavāni* ViDh. And others, see
    §41

vācaspate vāco vīryena sambhṛtatamenāyakṣase (TA °*yakṣyase*, ŚŚ
    °*yachase*) MS TA ŚŚ   See §27

pra ca havyāni vakṣyasi TS   *pred u havyāni vocati* RV VS KS   'Thou
    shalt (he shall) announce the oblations.'

§172. *Subjunctive and (Subjunctive of) Desiderative*

brahma vā yah kriyamānam nimitsāt (AV *vā yo nindiṣat kriyamānam*)
    RV AV   'Or whoso shall (seek to) blaspheme our holy charm as
    it is being performed '

VI MIXED IMPERATIVE-SUBJUNCTIVE FORMS

§173. Of all genuinely modal interrelations that between impv and
subj is the most frequent   This intimacy between the two has gained
formal expression in the Vedic language in occasional mixed imperative-
subjunctive forms   Thus *nudātu* is a blend of *nudatu*, impv , and
nudāti, subj   No less certainly *karatu* is a blend of subj *karati* and
impv *karotu*   The function of this blend corresponds to its form   Cf
Whitney, *Grammar* §§740, 752c   In §104, p, we have quoted several
variants showing all three types, true subj , true impv , and mixed
Here we append others in which the mixed form varies with subjunctive
alone

sa dṛṣṭo mṛdayāti (MS † °*tu*, VSK *mṛlayāti*) *nah* VS VSK TS MS KS
    'May he, when seen, be gracious unto us '

dīrgham āyuh karati (TA °*tu*) *jīvase vah* RV TA

viśve no devā avasā gamantu RV VS TS   *viśve no* (KS *mā*) *devā avasā
    gamann iha* RV VS MS KS ApŚ   Since the thematic aorist
    agamat is rare and dubious in the Samhitās, it is best to classify
    the Samhitā form *gamantu* here, rather than as impv to aor *agam-
    a-t*. Cf however *gamat sa* (*gamema*) . in §174.

tapto vām gharmo nakṣati (AV *nakṣatu*) *svahotā* AV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
sa no muñcātu (RV SV. *rakṣiṣad*) *duritād avadyāt* RV. SV. TA.
ādityair indrah saha sīṣadhātu (VS. *°ti*, RV. AV. *cīkḷpāti*) RV. AV. SV.
VS TA MŚ ApŚ

[*so 'syat* (MG *'syāh*) *prajām muñcatu mṛtyupāśāt* AG SMB. PG.
ApMB HG MG. Conc erroneously quotes *muñcātu* for SMB]

VII. Injunctive in interchange with other moods

§174. The injunctive alternates with indicative (§§120, 125, 132, 138,
141, 145, b, e), imperative (§§155ff), subjunctive (§§167f.), and optative.
There is one case of a prohibitive with *mā* in which one text anoma-
lously replaces an inj with an opt , cf Whitney, *Grammar* §579b. Occa-
sionally there is a shift of tense along with that of mood.

Injunctive and Optative

ā mā prānena saha varcasā gan (AV. *gamet*) AV TS MS KS   'May he
   come to me along with life-breath and strength.'   AV comm also
   gan; MS p p *agan.*
asyām ṛdhad (ŚB AŚ *ṛdhed*) *dhotrāyām devamgamāyām* MS ŚB TA.
   AŚ ŚŚ   'May he succeed in this sacrifice that goes to the gods '
tvayā (VSK TS KS TB omit) *vayam samghātam-samghātam* (TS TB.
   omit one *samghātam*, VSK *samghāte-samghāte*) *jeṣma* (KS † once
   samjayema, once *jayema*) VS VSK TS MS KS. ŚB TB. '(Thru
   thee) may we be victorious in every fight '
gamat sa (and. *gamema, sa gantā*) *gomati vraje* RV (all)   'He (we)
   shall go to a stall rich in cattle '   *gamat* is commonly taken as sub-
   junctive of a root aorist, but in view of *gamema*, which can only be
   opt of an *a*-aorist, we class it as inj of that type
tena vayam gamema (TS MS KS *patema*, VSK *tena gamema*) *bradh-
   nasya viṣṭapam* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB   *tena geṣma sukṛtasya
   lokam* AV
nedīya it sṛnyah (TS † *°yā*) *pakvam eyāt* (TS MS KS *āyat*) RV VS
   TS MS KS ŚB N
na pāpatvāya rāsīya (SV *ransiṣam*) RV AV. SV   The SV. reading is
   doubtless an unsuccessful attempt to improve the meter
pra tad voced (TA MahānU. *voce*) *amṛtasya* (VS TA MahānU. *amṛtam
   nu*) *vidvān* AV VS TA MahānU   In AV , 'may (the *gandharva*)
   knowing of the immortal proclaim that ' TA comm *provāca*
   (3d person!)   The form *voce* seems well-nigh uninterpretable, the
   comm seems to be thinking of the 3d sing perf mid *ūce*

The single case of prohibitive with *mā* is:
mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (MS *dhanayīd;* TS *dhvanayıd;* KSA. *dhvanayed*)
dhūmagandhıh RV. VS TS MS.„KSA   'Let not the fire, smoke-
scented, make thee crackle', or the like   On *dhvanayıd* see §285

VIII OPTATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§175. The optative interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 126, 133,
142), imperative (§160), subjunctive (§170), injunctive (§174), preca-
tive, and future

Optative and Precative

The precative is itself only an aorist optative of specialized type   It
interchanges mostly with the present optative, less often with the aorist
optative. Some of the forms classed as precatives are, of course,
necessarily indistinguishable from regular aorist optatives, cf Whitney,
Grammar §§568, 921ff ; these interchanges might therefore be classed
under §210, d

tābhyām (MS KS. add *vayam*) *patema sukŗtām u loḱam* (Kauś *pathy-
āsma sukŗtasya loḱam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kauś 'With these two
(wings) may we fly to the world of the pious '

tvayāyam vŗtram vadhyāl (VSK *badhyāt,* VS ŚB *badhet*) VS VSK. TS
MS KS ŚB. 'Thru thee may he slay Vŗtra '

anu vīraır anu puṣyāsma (TB ApŚ *rādhyāma*) *gobhıh* VS TB ApŚ
'May we thrive with heroic sons and cattle.'

jīveyam ŚB : *jīvyāsam* AV

sam aham āyuṣā sam varcasā sam prajayā (ŚŚ adds, *sam prıyena
dhāmnā*) *sam rāyas poṣena gmīya* (VS ŚB ŚŚ *gmıṣīya*) VS MS
KS But, of course, *gmıṣīya* may be considered an ıṣ-aorist

sınītālyā aham detayajyayā paśumān (ApŚ. °*matī*) *bhūyāsam* (MŚ
paśūn ıındeyam) ApŚ MŚ Similarly with *kuhrā,* and *rākāyā*

suprajāh prajayā bhūyāsam (ApMB * *bhūyās*)   VSK TS ApŚ
ApMB HG · *suprajāh prajābhıh syām* (VS. and ŚB also *syāma;*
ŚŚ *prajābhır bhūyāsam*). VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

prıyo dālur dakṣınāyā ıha syām AV   *prıyo devānām dakṣınāyaı dālur
ıha bhūyāsam* VS

bhūyāma te sumatau rājıno vayam RV. SV. *bhūyāsma te sumatau vıśıa-
tedah* MS (so read, for Conc °*redāh,* the text has °*ıedā* followed by
a vowel, which by the peculiar sandhi of MS means °*ıedah*)

bhūyāsma (ŚB. KŚ. °*yāma*) *putraıh paśubhıh* ŚB KŚ AŚ ApŚ ApMB.
BDh

sahasrapoṣam vaḥ puṣyāsam (KS. *puṣeyam;* MS. *vo 'śīya*) TS MS. KS.
HG : *sahasrapoṣam puṣeyam* VS. ŚB

dyāvāpṛthivyor aham devayajyayobhayor lokayor ṛdhyāsam (KS.* *devaya-jyayā prajaniṣeyam prajayā paśubhiḥ,* KS * MŚ *devayajyayā pra-janiṣīya prajayā paśubhiḥ*) KS. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. Note the anoma-lous (thematic) aor. opt. *prajaniṣeyam.*

ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma LŚ . *ariṣṭāh syāma tanvā suvīrāh* RV. AV. TS
KS

ā mā stutasya stutam gamyāt (Vait. *gamet*) TS. Vait . *ā mā stotrasya stotram gamyāt* PB.

api jāyeta so 'smākam ViDh : *api nah sa kule bhūyāt* MDh.

tasya te bhaktivānsah syāma (MS KS *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma*) AV MS.
KS : *tasya te vayam bhūyiṣṭhabhājo bhūyāsma* ApŚ. · *tasyās te bhakṣivānah syāma* (MS KS *bhaktivāno bhūyāsma,* ApŚ °*vānso bhūyāsma,* AŚ *bhāgam aśīmahi*) MS KS TB ApŚ AŚ.

vāmī te samdṛśi viśvam reto dheṣīya (KS *dhiṣīya*) MS KS.: *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇiyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛśi viśvā retānsi dhiṣīya* TS *vāmī nāma samdṛśi viśvā vāmāni dhīmahi* JB. All the verb-forms are ambiguous, and *dhīmahi* doubly so, since it might be injunctive; see Whitney, *Grammar* §837b.

Optative and Future

tau yuñjīta (AV. *yokṣye*) *prathamau yoga āgate* AV. SV. 'These two may he (I shall) first yoke up (employ) when the conjuncture arrives' The AV. (vulgate) mss. all read *yokṣe,* Ppp *yokṣye.*

IX. PRECATIVE IN INTERCHANGE WITH OTHER MOODS

§176. The precative interchanges with indicatives (§§121, 133), imperative (§161), subjunctive (§169), optative (§175), and future Two of the three forms here classed as precatives might, however, also be considered aor optative.

Precative and Future

juṣṭām adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam (ŚŚ. *vācam vadiṣyāmi*) ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ 'Let me (I shall) speak this day speech pleasing to the gods '
madhu vansiṣīya (ŚŚ *vaniṣye*) AV. ŚŚ 'May I (I shall) win honey.'
Whitney would read *vansiṣīya* in AV Cf. Bloomfield and Spieker, *JAOS* 13, cxviii

madhu janiṣye (AV *janiṣīya*) AV TS TA ŚŚ · *madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayiṣyāmi madhu bhaviṣyati* JB.

X Future in interchange with other moods

§177. The future interchanges with aorist indicative (§134), imperative (§162), subjunctive (§171), optative (§175, end), precative (just above), and desiderative, and in one doubtful case we may have a future indicative exchanging with a future subjunctive   See also under Tense for interchange of future with other indicative tenses (§234), and see §248a for verbal nouns in *tā*, simulating the later periphrastic future, exchanging with various finite verb forms

yad vādāsyan samjagārā janebhyah TB   *adāsyann agna uta samgṛnāmi* AV   *aditsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA   'If I promise, not intending to give, to people', or the like.   Participles are here concerned

paridhāsyai yaśo dhāsyai (MG *paridhāsye yaśo dhāsye*) PG. MG   If the PG. contains finite verb-forms, they must be future subjunctives (Whitney, *Grammar* §938)   But Stenzler and Oldenberg follow the Hindu comm in taking -*dhāsyai* as an infinitive (and *yaśodhāsyai* as a compound).   Cf §134

XI Desiderative in interchange with other moods

§178. The desiderative—by definition modal in force—exchanges with indicative aorist (§135) and future (§177), and it forms a subjunctive of its own which varies with another subjunctive (§172)

XII Infinitive in interchange with imperative

§178a. See §163.

Summary of modal interchanges in dependent and other non-categorical clauses

§179. Starting with the observation that the subjunctive is the favorite in relative clauses, we note (§122) that the 2d sing impv is certainly excluded from that construction   This does not apply to the other numbers of the 2d person impv , which are identical in form with injunctives, as may be seen from the example in §168, *yad ih mām atimanyadhvam* HG , *yadi mām atimanyādhvai* ApMB , 'when (if) you (thus) disdain me '   The true or exclusive imperative forms, not capable of confusion with either subj or inj , are (in the active) the 2d and 3d singular and the 3d plural only   They occur, if only rarely, in prohibitive clauses (§159), and the third person also in relative clauses

(§§122f) We here use the term 'relative' in a broad sense to include clauses introduced by conjunctions derived from the stem *ya-*, as *yadi, yathā, yad, yatra, yatah* Understood in this sense we find the following:

§180. *Interchanges of moods in relative clauses*

Present Indicative and Imperative, §123
Present Indicative and Subjunctive, §124
Present Indicative and Injunctive, §125
Present Indicative and Optative, §126
Preterite Indicatives and modal forms (mostly subjunctives), §145
Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168
Subjunctive and Optative, §169
Subjunctive and Desiderative Subjunctive, §172

§181. *Interchanges of moods and tenses in prohibitive clauses with mā*

Augmented and augmentless Preterites, §146
Perfect Indicative and Injunctive, §147
Imperative and Injunctive, §159
Subjunctive and Injunctive, §168
Injunctive and Optative, §174, end

Cf also the interchange between present and aorist prohibitive injunctives, §§209, 211

§182. To show at a glance the possible variations in prohibitive clauses with *mā*, we group examples of them here   The result is a mosaic of unexpected modal variety

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat   śraddhā me mā vyāgāt, §146

ganān me mā vi titṛṣah (°ṣat)· ganān me mā vy arīriṣah, §146

mā tvā ke cin ni (cid vi) yaman vim (he cin ni yemur in, ke cin nyemur in) na pāśinah, §147

mā savyena dakṣinam atikrāmīh (°krāma), §159

mā jñālāram mā pratisthām vidanta (vindantu), §159

mā nah soma hvarito vihvarasva   mā no ghai ma vyathito vivyadhīt (vivyatho nah), §159

mā somam pātv asomapah   mā pāt somam asomapah, §159

sakhyāt te mā yoṣam   sakhyam te mā yoṣāh, §168

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (dhanayīd, dhvanayid, dhvanayed) dhūmagandhih, §174, end

gṛhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (vepidhvam), §211

mā tvā vṛkṣah (°ṣau) sam bādhiṣṭa (bādhiṣṭām, bādhethām), §211

mainam agne vi daho mābhiśocah (°*śūśucah*), §211
mainām arcisā mā tapasābhi (*mainām tapasā mārcisābhi*) *śocīh* (*śocah*,
    śūśucah), §211

§183. *Interchange of moods in interrogative and lest-clauses*

In one interrogative clause (§124, end) the present indicative inter-
changes with a subjunctive:
(*apām napād āśuhemā kuvit sa*) *supeśasas karati* (*karoti*) *josisad dhi*
    In one lest-clause (§124, end) the present indicative interchanges with
a subjunctive·
mā mā hāsīn (*hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (*na*) *tvā jahāni* (°*mi*).

CHAPTER IV. THE TENSES. INTERCHANGE BETWEEN TENSES AND TENSE-SYSTEMS

§184 Tense interchange in the Vedic Variants may be treated, in its formal and functional aspects, under three heads:

1 Interchanges between different formations of the same tense. In general these are devoid of functional distinction This is true alike of the present and the aorist systems. Except that the reduplicated aorist is associated with causative meaning (Whitney, *Grammar* §856)—and even this exception is by no means a hard and fast rule, as the variants show—the aorist, thruout the history of Sanskrit as of the other Indo-European languages, does not make any functional differentiation of its various formal types. Nor do our variants throw any light on the rare and precarious instances in which different present-systems from the same root are accompanied by genuine differences of meaning, as in the perfective *bharati* 'carry to': imperfective *bibharti* 'carry, wear'; see Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 11. cxxvi ff.; Delbruck, *AISynt.* 274ff   So far as the variants show, the interchanges between present systems are quite devoid of distinctions of meaning.

2 Interchanges between identical subordinate moods of different tenses, especially present and aorist. These, again, do not manifest the slightest difference in sense   Thus, *patim me kevalam kṛdhi (kuru)*, 'make him solely my husband '   We have encountered this tense variation as a very frequent accessory to modal variation in the chapter on moods; see above, §154, etc   The cases there presented included only those in which mood as well as tense was shifted, as in *uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat (yachatu)*, §154, where an aorist subjunctive varies with a present imperative   In the present chapter we shall deal with instances in which the mood remains constant, while the tense changes

3. True interchange of tense, that is to say, interchange in the indicative forms, which (at least in the Veda) do have more or less clearly recognizable differences of meaning   This involves interchanges between present, aorist, imperfect, and perfect, and to some extent future, altho in our view the Vedic use of the future makes it more a mood than a tense and we have accordingly treated it chiefly in the chapter on moods, but see below, §234

We begin with the first of these classes, which involves two subdivisions: a. Interchange between the Present systems, and b between the Aorist systems

1. Interchanges between different formations of the same tense

a Interchanges between different Present systems

§185. Interchanges between present systems are carried on in a fairly live fashion, and without the least distinction in meaning between the correspondents. To some extent they represent old established correspondences, such as between the various nasal presents This is in continuation of prehistoric conditions, largely dependent on the organic derivation of the various nasal classes from different types of 'dissyllabic roots' or bases See Gustav Meyer, *Die mit nasalen gebildeten praesensstämme* (Jena, 1873), de Saussure, *Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indoeuropéennes* 239ff.; Hirt, *Ablaut* 76ff. The nasal classes show also a considerable tendency to interchange with other present classes. Next in importance are the transitions from non-thematic to thematic conjugation, part of a wide movement thruout the history of Hindu speech In a root or two (*mṛd, hū*) the accented *a*-class interchanges with ungunated *aya*-presents, the latter being structurally or chronologically more archaic (*hvayāmi* = Avestan *zbayemi*). Intransitive *ya*-verbs show a somewhat marked tendency to replace other types in late texts; cf Delbrück, *AISynt* 277. There are some interchanges which involve different phonetic treatment of one and the same root, producing the effect of different present systems, such as interchange between *ramnātu* and *ranvatu*, *ūrnuhi* and *vṛṇu, dhvarati* and *dhūrvati*. Above all loom about forty interchanges between the stems *kṛṇo-* and *karo-*, involving tangled chronological conditions And finally there are interchanges between any one and any other system. We shall treat these matters in the approximate order of their frequency or importance, beginning with *kṛṇo · karo*

The stems kṛṇo (kṛṇu) and karo (kuru)

§186 Of these two stems, *kṛṇo-* is guaranteed as a prehistoric form by the Avestan *kərənaomi* No less certainly is *karo-* of ancient organic structure (dissyllabic base **kereu*), as is shown by *-kūr-min, karv-ara*, and the analogous formation *tarute* See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 16 clx = *BB* 23 110, Hirt, *Ablaut* 114 The early hieratic language adopted

kṛno-, whereas *karo-* seems likely to have been the true popular form at all times. In the prevailingly hieratic parts of the RV. we find, accordingly, *kṛno-*. On the other hand, however, the AV , tho fundamentally and prevailingly popular, does not favor *karo-* as we should expect Whitney's Index to the AV shows that *kṛno-* is much the commoner stem, and this is perhaps made even more striking by the evidence of the variants, in which, even tho the other texts (largely popular) read *karo-*, the AV. overwhelmingly favors *kṛno-* (in 13 out of 14 cases, only one *karo-*!). It is quite clear that in this respect, as in some others, AV., which shares many hieratic passages with RV , has come under the influence of its diction. (It is to be noted, however, that of the passages among the variants showing *kṛno-* in AV., only one is borrowed from RV. Evidently AV. adopted the hieratic stem very definitely as its own The passages are grouped just below.) Analogously, we find even in some very late texts that *kṛno-* forms are substituted for *karo-* forms of older texts, by conscious archaism. Thus Vait., certainly a late text but one with hieratic pretensions, employs the doubly archaic *kṛnuhi* (*ojasvantam mām āyuṣmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuhi*, see §255), against *kuru* of other and older texts So also the very late NilarU revives *kṛno-* over the heads of all the YV texts in: *śivaṁ giritra* (MS *giriśa*) *tām kuru* (NilarU *kṛnu*) VS T⁻. MS KS NilarU. On the whole both the later hieratic texts (YV., Brāhmaṇa, and Śrauta Sūtra), as well as the popular Grhya Sūtras, incline to *karo-*, but frequently and very inconsistently fall back into *kṛno-*. The edition of ApŚ 7 17 6, 7 gives both forms in adjoining repetitions of the same formula, *arātiyantam adharam karomi* (7. 16. 7 *kṛnomi*); the hieratic form here may be due to mere desire for stylistic variation. Just so in adjoining verses of the popular ApMB we have first *karomi*, then *kṛnomi* with further recasting of the phrase which suggests stylistic influence: *syonam te saha patyā karomi* 1. 5 16d, and *ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā kṛnomi* 1 5 17d There are few Vedic texts of any size or importance so base but that they occasionally use *kṛno-* in place of *karo-*. Of those represented by more than one variant pāda, only TA , HG , and RVKh lack *kṛno-* forms The would-be hieratic (but late and secondary) Vait. poses with *kṛno-* forms three times against other texts with *karo-*, and without a single instance of the reverse.

§187. We seem to see traces of some school tendencies in this regard Altho it would doubtless be rash to generalize confidently from these few instances, it seems hardly likely to be accidental that the Taittirīya school texts—TS , TB , TA., ApŚ , MahānU., HG , and ApMB.—

uniformly prefer the popular *karo-* So does KS., while contrariwise MS. and its Śrauta Sūtra, MŚ , show a majority for *kṛno-*.

§188 The capricious interplay of hieratic and popular, old and new, is further tangled by half a dozen examples in which the aorists or aorist-presents *kṛdhi* and *kṛṣva* interchange with corresponding forms of the bases *kṛno-* and *karo-,* §210, a

§189. The distribution of the two stems in the interchanging variants is shown conveniently in the following table.

	kṛno-	*karo-*		*kṛno-*	*karo-*
RV. . . .	3	0	Vait	3	0
AV	13	1	ApŚ	5	7
SV . ..	1	0	MŚ . .	3	2
VS. . ..	4	4	ŚG . .	.0	1
TS	4	9	SMB	2	0
MS. . . .	8	3	GG ..	1	0
KS.	5	9	Kauś	.1	1
AB	1	0	PG	2	1
JB .	1	0	ApMB. ..	4	6
PB . .	0	1	HG	0	5
ŚB . .	3	2	MahānU.	0	1
TB	2	6	NīlarU	1	0
TA .. .	0	6	ŚvetU	0	1
AŚ	2	2	RVKh	0	5
ŚŚ. .	1	2	BDh	0	1
LS.	0	1			

§190 The following list of about 40 passages is grouped so as to show first those which concern RV and AV. by themselves·

Passages involving RV

yadā śṛtam kṛṇavo (TA *karavo*) *jātavedah* RV AV TA

yasmai kṛṇoti (TS. *karoti*) *brāhmanah* RV VS TS

suputrām subhagām kuru (RV *kṛṇu;* SMB *kṛdhi*) RV SMB. ApMB.
   HG.

Passages involving AV

yadā śṛtam kṛṇavo (TA. *karavo*) *jātavedah* RV. AV TA

aqne medhāvinam kuru (AV. *kṛṇu*) AV VS RVKh

anāgasam brahmane (AV °*ṇā*) *tvā karomi* (AV *kṛṇomi*) AV. TB. HG.
   ApMB.

priyam mā kuru (AV *kṛṇu*) *deveṣu* (ApMB *mā deveṣu kuru*) AV.
   RVKh HG ApMB

priyam rājasu mā kuru (AV. *kṛṇu*) AV. RVKh. ApMB : *priyam mā kuru rājasu* HG

brahmāham antaram kṛnve (KŚ. *karave*, read °*vai*) AV KŚ

mām indra bhaginam kṛnu AV. *mām agne bhāginam kuru* ApMB.

karomi (AV *kṛnomi*) *te prājāpatyam* AV. ApMB HG

kṛnomi tubhyam sahapatnyai vadhu AV *ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi* (ApMB. *kṛnomi*) RV. ApMB.: *syonam me* (ApMB. *te*) *saha patyā karomi* TS. TB. ApMB

svasti na indro maghavān kṛnotu AV. *svasti no maghavā karotu* TS. TA MahānU.

yasya kurmo gṛhe havih VS MS KS ŚB · *yasya kurmo* (AV. *kṛnmo*) *havir gṛhe* AV TS

kṛnvāno (KS *kurvāno*) *anyān* (TS MS KS *anyān*, KŚ *'nyān*) *adharān sapatnān* AV TS. MS. KS ApŚ KŚ

dīrgham āyuh kṛnotu me (*vām*) AV JB. Kauś ApMB : *āyuṣmantam karota mā* (RVKh *karotu mām*, KS. *kṛnota mā*) RVKh. KS TA BDh.

yābhyām karmāni kurvate (SV. *kṛnvate*) AV. SV   This is the only variant in which AV shows a *karo-* form   It is also the only variant in which SV figures at all

Passages involving all other texts

agnih prajām bahulām me karotu (MS. *kṛnotu*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB ŚŚ ApŚ.

agnih pravidvān (MS KS °*vāṅ*) *iha tat kṛnotu* (ApŚ * *karotu*, KS. ApŚ ' *dadhātu*) MS KS ApŚ. (bis)

achidram yajñam bhūrikarmā karotu (KS. MŚ *bhūriretāh kṛnotu*) KS TB ApŚ MŚ

arātāyantam adharam kṛnomi (ApŚ.* *karomi*) TS. ApŚ (both)

asya kurmo (RVKh *kulmo*) *harivo medinam tvā* RVKh TS. TB.: *iha kṛnmo* etc. KS.

ādityās tvā kṛnvantu (KS *kurvantu*) *jāgatena chandasā*   VS TS MS KS ŚB.

Similarly *rudrās tvā, vasavas tvā, viśve tvā devā,* etc.

tena suprajasam kṛnu (TA. *kuru*) TA. Vait.

tena mā vājinam kuru (Vait *kṛnu*) AŚ Vait LŚ.

sinīvālī kṛnotu (KS *karotu*) *tām* VS TS MS. KS ŚB.

ulhām kṛnotu (TS KS *karotu*) *śaktyā* VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB.

kṛnotu (KS *karotu*) *viśvacarṣaṇih* KS TB. ApŚ MŚ SMB PG

apsu dhautasya te   bhakṣam kṛnomi (PB *karomi*) KS. PB.

syonam te sadanam karomi (MŚ. *kṛnomi*) TB. ApŚ MŚ.

120   VEDIC VARIANTS I THE VERB

so asmāñ (MŚ. *asmān*) *adhipatīn karotu* TS. MŚ · *so 'smān adhipatīn kṛnotu* ŚŚ

samitāro yad atra sukṛtam kṛnavathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkṛtam anyatra tat AB. AŚ.. *yo duṣkṛtam karavat tasya duṣkṛtam* Kauś

yena striyam akṛnutam (ŚŚ *striyāv akurutam*) ŚŚ. SMB GG. *yena śriyam akṛnutām* PG

yāsyām patighnī tanūh   jāraghnīm asyai tām kṛnomi ApMB : *yā te patighnī tanūr jāraghnīm iv etām karomi* HG · *yā te patighnī . tanūr jāraghnīm tata enām karomi* PG . *yā te patighny alakṣmī . jāraghnīm tām karomi* ŚG.

sa tvā manmanasām karotu (ApMB. °*manasam kṛnotu*) PG ApMB

śivām giritra (MS *giriśa*) *tām kuru* (NīlarU. *kṛnu*) VS TS. MS KS NīlarU ŚvetU.

vasūni kṛnvan (ApŚ *kṛnvann asme*, TB *kṛnvann asmin*, read *asme* with comm and Poona ed. text, MŚ *kurvan*) *naryā purūni* TB AS ApŚ MŚ

yasyām karmāṇi kurvate (ApŚ *kṛnvate*) KS ApŚ

madhu tvā madhulā karotu (MS *kṛnotu*) MS. TA. ApŚ

prajā vikṛnvañ (ApŚ *vikurvañ*) *janayan virūpam* (ApŚ °*pāh*) KS ApŚ.· *prajāh kṛnvan janayan virūpāh* MS

ojasvantam mām āyuṣmantam   manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait *kṛṇuhi*) TS MS AŚ. Vait

Interchange between the various nasal classes

§191. Here we have, first. interchanges between the *no* and *nā* classes they involve the roots *stabh* and *skabh* (thrice), *kṣi* 'destroy' (twice), and *mi* 'diminish' (once)   The rest of the cases are stray examples of various nasal formations; they chiefly concern transfer from non-thematic nasal classes to thematic forms.   In principle, of course, thematic verbs of nasal classes are just as old as the non-thematic, but in Sanskrit their appearance is sporadic only   The total of these cases is not sufficient to permit deductions

ājyam uktham avyathāyai (KS °*ya*, TS *avyathayat*) *stabhnātu* (MS °*notu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB   The same with *praūgam uktham, marutvatīyam uktham, niṣkevalyam uktham,* and *vaiśvadevāgnimārute uklhe,* etc

ut te stabhnāmi (TA *tabhnomi*) *pṛthivīm tvat pari* RV. AV TA and (pratīkas) ŚG AG Kauś

adhvana skabhnīta (VS *skabhnuvantah*) VS TS   *adhvānam skabhnuvanto* . MS

kṣiṇomi (AV *kṣiṇāmi*) *brahmaṇāmitrān* AV VS TS MS. KS ŚB TA.
    idam aham amum āmuṣyāyaṇam . prakṣiṇāmi KS . *idam aham amuṣ-*
    yāmuṣyāyaṇam   *prakṣiṇāmi* MS. *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyan-*
    asyāyuḥ prakṣiṇomi ApŚ
pra smā miṇāty (ApŚ *prāsmā miṇoty*) *ajaraḥ* RV. KS ApŚ.
bṛhaspatiṣ tvā (TS KS. ApŚ. °*tis tvā*) *sumne ramṇātu* (TS. ApŚ *raṇ-*
    vatu) VS TS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ. The 'root' *ranv* is best ac-
    counted for as *ra-nv-*(*rm-nv-*). Whitney, *Roots*, regards it as a
    secondary formation from *ran*   This and the next belong equally
    in §196
deva tvaṣtar vasu rama (TS *ranva*, KS. *rana*, MS *raṇe*) VS TS. MS KS
    ŚB.
āpas tvā sam ariṇan (MS. *arinvan*) VS MS ŚB . *āpaḥ sam arinan* TS.
    KS.
agner jihvām abhi (MS *jihvābhi*, p p. *jihvām, abhi;* AV. KS. *jihvayābhi*)
    gṛnītam (AV. *gṛnata*) AV VS. TS MS KS *gṛnītam* is 2d dual of *nā-*
    class, *gṛnata* 2d plural of accented *a*-class.
āṅkṣvāsāv āṅkṣvāsau HG · *asāv abhyaṅkṣvāsāv aṅkṣva* AŚ.: *āṅkṣva*
    tatāsau ApŚ . *āñjasvānulimpasva* PG   The thematic present is
    practically unknown; see Whitney, *Roots*
sā mā samiddhāyuṣā   *samintām* (1 one ms °*indhatām*) TA.: *sā mā*
    samiddhā   *samindhiṣatām* MS   Here TA , most mss , has a regu-
    lar non-thematic present from *indh,* the anomalous appearance of
    which doubtless causes the thematic variant °*indhatām.* MS has
    an aorist.

The roots *van, man* and *san* may also be included here even tho the
nasal is in their case radical, in this grouping we merely follow a custom
which is not only well-established but eminently practical   They pre-
sent, alongside of non-thematic (8th class) presents, certain forms which
may be either thematic present indicatives, or aorist subjunctives.
tad agnir devo devebhyò vanate (MS. ŚB ŚŚ *vanutām*) TS MS. ŚB. TB.
    AŚ ŚŚ.

The question is, whether *vanate* is a pres of the *bhū*-class or an aor.
subj ; see §§ 116, 154, and the next.
agnir no vanate (VSK *vanute,* SV TS KS. *vaṅsate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VS.
    VSK. TS MS. KS. See under prec   The question there mooted
    is here further complicated by the indubitably aor. subj. *vaṅsate.*
manai (MS *manve*) *nu babhrūṇām aham, śatam dhāmāni sapta ca* RV.
    VS. MS KS ŚB. N. But *manai* is dubious as a pres subj ; it is
    better taken as aorist, see §§10, 119.
ubhau lokau sanem (MŚ. *sanomy*) *aham* TB. TAA ApŚ. MŚ.

Interchange of nasal with non-nasal classes

§192 This rubric is rendered somewhat uncertain in outline because
a number of the non-nasal forms in question may be considered as
aorists, especially in the case of modal forms   Thus, the SV repeatedly
reads *yuñḷṣva* for *yukṣva* of the rest, the latter is structurally ambiguous,
tho usually treated as present, like *yuñkṣva*   We have followed this
custom, altho it seems to us that *yukṣva* might quite as well be treated
as aorist   The fact is that, as we have repeatedly observed, our gram-
matical categories are more or less whited sepulchres, particularly as
regards modal forms   The same considerations apply to some other
forms classed here, notably to *-vṛddhi -vṛnda*, where *vṛddhi* might be
regarded as either perfect in form (*veda*), or aorist (cf. *vidanta: vṛndantu,*
§159), tho we group it as present·

vṛdrānuvṛnda (AŚ °*vṛddhi*) *nas tāni* TB. AŚ.

agne yukṣvā (SV. PB *yuñkṣvā*) *hi ye tava* RV. SV VS TS MS KS PB
ŚB KŚ. ApŚ MŚ

yukṣvā (SV. *yuñkṣvā*) *madacyutā harī* RV AV. SV

yukṣvā (SV. *yuñkṣvā*) *hi keśinā harī* RV. SV. VS. ŚB

yukṣvā (SV. *yuñkṣvā*) *hi vājinīvah* RV. SV

yukṣvā (SV. *yuñkṣvā*) *hi vṛtrahantama* RV. SV ŚŚ.

yukṣvā (and, *yuñgdham*) *hy aruṣī rathe* RV. (both)

athā mandasva (VS. *madaeva*) *jujuṣāṇo andhasah* RV. VS

iṣe pīpihi (MS. *pipīhi*) MS TA ApŚ   *iṣe pinvasva* VS ŚB KŚ   Simi-
larly with *ūrje, kṣatrāya, brahmaṇe,* and others, see §270

agne brahma gṛbhṇīṣva (MS MŚ. *gṛhṇīṣva,* KS. *gṛhīṣva*) VS MS KS.
ŚB MŚ.

suśami śamīṣva (TS TB *śami°*; KS † *śamnīṣva*) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB.
TB

yasya yonim patireto gṛbhāya (HG *prati reto gṛhāna*) ŚG. HG : *vy
asya yonim prati reto gṛhāna* ApMB   Cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§722,
732

Possibly here belongs·

kataro menim prati tam mucāte (Vait *muñcāte*) RV. Vait   But in §210,
b, we have classified *mucāte* as aorist   See that section and the
following for one or two other cases which might, less probably, be
placed here

And see further the interchanges between stems *tṛmpa* and *tṛpya, manu*
and *manya, hṛnī* and *hṛnīya,* §195

datto asmabhyam (etc , §250, p 165) *dravineha bhadram* AV KS. AŚ
   SMB , *dadhatha no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS
sam vasāthām (MS. MŚ. *vasethām*) *svarvidā* (KS. °*dāu*) VS TS MS KS
   ŚB MŚ   And·
vyacasvatī sam vasāthām (MS *vasethām*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB. Stems
   vaste and *vasate* from *vas* 'clothe' [So Bloomfield wrote, but the
   interpretation is very dubious No *vasate 'clothes' is recorded
   Keith on TS seems to understand *vas* 'dwell', as if from a type
   *vaste, which is equally unknown from this root. Mahīdhara on
   VS , *āchādayatam* (apparently *vas* 'clothe'). The meaning is
   obscure. Possibly MS understands a form of *vas* 'dwell' (*vasate*),
   and the others *vas* 'clothe' (*vaste*). F E]
[*ye dadate* (JUB. *dadante*) *pañca diśah sadhrīcīh* AV JUB. But here
   there is no real variant, all mss of AV read *dadante*, and
   Whitney's Transl restores it to the text]

Interchange between a and aya formations

§194 Aside from formations which may with more or less confidence
be called causatives, and which we treat separately as such (§§237ff),
this type includes hardly anything but forms of the two roots *mṛd*
'pity' and *hū* 'call'. The popular (rather than 'late') form *hvayāmi* is
shown to be prehistoric by Avestan *zbayemi*, it is doubtless a mere acci-
dent that it alone survives as a present formation from this root in
classical Sanskrit, while *huvá* and *háva*, both of which interchange with
hvaya, become extinct See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 21 48 In the follow-
ing small list the verbs determine but rarely the relative chronology of the
passages·
apasedhan (SV.† °*dham*) *duritā soma mṛdaya* (SV. *no mṛda*) RV SV
   Here *mṛda* (should = *mṛ́da*, and hence metrically out of place)
   together with the patchword *no* are clearly inferior readings in SV.
tayā no mṛda jīvase VS VSK TS MS KS NīlarU *tayā no rudra*
   mṛdaya TS. The parallel is only vague
sa nah prajāyai haryaśva mṛdaya (AV KS *mṛda*) RV. AV TS KS.
te no mṛdayata (AV *mṛdata*) AV TS ApMB
te no mṛdayantu (MS *mṛdantu*) VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB.
tau no mṛdayatām (MS *mṛdatām*) TS MS ApMB
huve nu (RV VS KS MahānU *hvayāmi*) *śakram puruhūtam indram*
   RV AV SV VS. TS. MS KS MahānU
sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV AV. KS. Comm on AV.
   ahvayanta.

[As to the variant quoted in Conc. as: *apām napātam aśvinā huve dhiyā*
(TS. *aśvinā hvayantām*) AV. TS , the word *hvayantām* is an error for
hayantam (pple of *hi* 'impel') in TS.]

In a single variation between parallel pādas in the Vālakhilya hymns
the stems *svada* and *svadaya* interchange without difference in meaning,
nevertheless, *svadaya* may be considered a causative, cf. §240:

yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavah RV. (Vāl). *yam te svadāvan svad-
anti gūrtayah* RV. (Vāl)

Interchange between intransitive ya-stems and others

§195 The prevailing intransitive present formation in *ya* occasion-
ally offers refuge to intransitives of other formation.   One is inclined
to regard the *ya* forms as generally secondary, cf Delbruck, *AI Synt* 277.
The nasal formation *tṛmpa* (Avestan *θ raf-*) is old, and *manve* is more
organic than *manye*.

hutāhutasya tṛpyatam (KS ŚŚ *tṛmpatam*) KS. TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

tasya tṛmpatam ahāhāhuhū ŚŚ   *tena tṛpyatam anhahau* TB. ApŚ

anāgaso adham it samkṣayema TB: *anāgaso yathā sadam it samkṣiyema*
    Vait.   The Conc. suggests reading *sadam* in TB · but the comm.
    has *adham,* interpreting it by *anantaram*

brahmaitad upāsvaitat (MahānU. *upāsyaitat*) *tapah* TA. MahānU.   But
    Poona ed of TA agrees with MahānU. (with v 1 *upāsv°*)

manye vām dyāvāpṛthivī subhojasau ArS.: *manve vām dyāvāpṛthivī* AV
    Vait.

tapate (or *ātapate*, so KSA acc to v. Schroeder, TS both, acc to Weber,
    VS *tapyate*) *svāhā* VS TS KSA. TA

yat te krūram . tat te śudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām;* MS
    tad etena śundhasva) VS TS MS ŚB. ApŚ

Here we may also place the somewhat anomalous *hṛnīya* of SV ·

mā hṛnīthā abhy asmān RV.: *vājebhir mā hṛnīyathāh* SV.   The alterna-
tive would be to regard *hṛnīya* as a sort of denominative.

*Different treatments of the same root which produce the effect of different
present systems*

§196 Here and there sundry morphological processes differentiate
one and the same root in such a way as to leave behind two forms which
may be regarded as two roots, but which in any case manifest them-
selves in different present formations.   The Hindu lexicons postulate a
root *ūrnu* which is obviously nothing but an obscured and extended *nu-*
present of the root *vṛ* (**yeru*) 'cover'.   The archaic form *ūrnuhi* inter-

changes with the conventional *vṛṇu* in one case below. Similarly the
roots *dhvar* and *dhūrv* are intricate precipitates of a type *dharu* (cf
tvar and *tūrv. taru*), as Bloomfield as shown in *JAOS.* 16 clxi = *BB.*
23. 109. Compare the relation of *ramnātu   raṇvatu*, and *rama
raṇva*, above, §191.

tam dhūrva yam vayam dhūrvāmah VS TS ŚB. TB : *yam vayam dhvarāma
    tam dhvara* (KS. *vayam dhūrvāmas tam ca dhūrva*) MS KS
dhūrva tam yo 'smān dhūrvati VS TS ŚB TB.   *dhvara dhvarantam yo
    asmān dhvarāt* MS
abhy enam bhūma ūrṇuhi (TA *bhūmi vṛnu*) RV. AV. TA.

Accented and unaccented a-presents (1st and 6th class)

§197. The most conspicuous are those from the root *hū* 'call' The
presents *huva* and *hava* interchange with each other, as well as with
hvaya (§194); the instances are gathered in §2 and are not repeated here
Most of the other cases, and indeed some of the *huva· hava* cases, have
phonetic aspects, concerning the phonetic variation of *a·u* before *v*, see
§23, where are presented three such variants concerning *brū* (stems
brava bruva), and one concerning *hnu* (*hnava.hnuva*)   The only other
instance we have noted is.

(*pra*   ) *suvīrābhis tirate* (SV. TS *tarati*) *vājabharmabhih* (SV. TS.
    °*karmabhih*) RV SV. TS KS (Correct Conc) Here *pra tirate* is
    superior to *pra tarati*, if for no other reason because *pra tara-* occurs
    but a single time in RV (10 53 8), whereas *pra tira-* is common
    For the stanza as a whole cf. Oldenberg, *Proleg* 281.

Reduplicated and other presents

§198 In two pādas concerning the root *vṛt*, Kauś has *vavṛtsva* (a
Rigvedic archaism; *ā-vavṛtsva* and *abhi-ā-vavṛtsva* both RV., see Grass-
mann) where other texts have *vartasva·*

agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā ni vartasva (TS *abhi na ā vartasva;* KS *abhi
    no ni vartasva*, MS. *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś *abhi na ā vavṛtsva*) VS
    TS. MS KS. ŚB Kauś
punar ūrjā ni vartasva (Kauś *ūrjā vavṛtsva*) SV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB.
    LŚ MŚ. Kauś

The variant *īyāna* of SV. for *iyāna* may be classed as a reduplicated
present middle participle, there seems no ground for calling it intensive
(cf Whitney, *Roots*, s.v)

iyānah (*SV. īy°*) *kṛṣṇo daśabhih sahasraih* RV. AV SV KS. TA
stotṛbhyo dhṛṣṇav iyānah (SV. *īy°*) RV AV. SV

The remaining cases concern modal forms of roots *dā* and *dhā*, reduplicated and unreduplicated But the unreduplicated forms may, quite as well, be considered root-aorists (cf §210, a):

te no dhāntu (SV *dhatta*) *suvīryam* RV. SV.

punar dātām (TA. *dattāv*) *asum adyeha bhadram* RV. AV. TA. *dattāv* is unaccented in TA and is surely to be read *dattām*, comm. *dattau prayachatām* (understanding perfect passive pple with active meaning[1])

devīr āpo apām napād. .taṁ devebhyo devatra (MS *devebhyah śukrapebhyo*) *dhatta* (VS ŚB. *datta*, MS. KS *dāta*) ..VS TS MS. KS ŚB.

b. *Interchanges between different Aorist systems*

§199. Considering the large number of available aorist systems, and their general equivalence in meaning, the number of interchanges between them is not large The only one which can be differentiated as to meaning is the reduplicated aorist, with its well-known tendency to association with the causative. Even this difference appears but rarely among the variants, which in fact present only a few cases of reduplicated aorist forms exchanging with others, and those few are generally not distinguishable in meaning from their rivals. We may remember that other 'causative' forms are from the earliest period of the language frequently used in senses that are indistinguishable from transitive forms of the simple verb. And even intransitive reduplicated aorists are found; see the variant *ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā adidyutat* (*atidyutat*), below.

§200 Otherwise the variations are purely formal, without possible semantic bearings. The old non-thematic *s*-aorist (Whitney, *Grammar* §888ff) of the type *askāntsam, askān, askān*, results in 2d and 3d singular forms which often resemble those of the root-aorist; this has yielded a rather constant interchange between the forms *askān* and *askan;* or compare again the threefold variation between *ruk, rok,* and *rauk* from *ruc,* below These variations may be considered, at least in part, phonetic as much as morphological. Phonetic considerations are even more clearly involved in variations like *acārṣam*: *acāriṣam* (see §286, a) which on their face are *s* and *iṣ*-aorists, but in large part are really cases of *svarabhakti* (Whitney, *Grammar* §230c). Phonetic, likewise, is the variant *āprā(h); āprād*, before *dyāvā-* (see §24). On the whole the list of aorist forms is very miscellaneous and presents a rather haphazard aspect A number of the forms are more or less doubtful as to which aorist class they belong to, or whether they are properly called aorists

at all.   Attention will be called to such cases specifically   We number
the various aorist types in accordance with Whitney.

§201. *Reduplicated Aorists (Class 3) and others*

gaṇān me mā vi tītṛṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*) TS MŚ 'do not (let him not) make
    my troops go thirsty': *ganā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TS. ŚB 'may my
    troops not go thirsty.'   Here the proper causative sense of the 3d
    aor. is apparent, and varies with a non-causative 2d aor.
udgrābhenod agrabhīt (MŚ. *ajigrabhat*, KS *ajigrabham* and *ajigrbham*)
    VS TS MS KS ŚB 3 and 5 aor , no difference of meaning; both
    active, 'he has (I have) lifted up '
mā dyāvāpṛthivī abhi śocīh (TS *śūśucah*, KS *śucah*; MS *hinsīh*) VS
    TS. MS. KS ŚB. 2, 3, and 5 aor., all active, 'scorch', no difference
    of meaning.
maināṁ arciṣā mā tapasābhi (VS. KS *maināṁ tapasā mārciṣābhi*) *śocīh*
    (KS *śocah*; TS. *śūśucah*) VS TS MS KS   As in prec.: 3 and
    5 aor. (*śocah* is imperfect injunctive)
amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś *yathābhāgam yathālokam*)
    āvṛṣāyiṣata (AŚ *āvṛṣāyiṣata*, ŚŚ. *avīvṛṣata*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ
    LŚ Kauś SMB GG. KhG   Both the forms are somewhat prob-
    lematic, most texts apparently have a 5 aor. from a denominative
    (*vṛṣan*), while ŚŚ has a 3 aor from the primary root *vṛṣ*; both
    must mean in the last analysis something like 'they eagerly obtained
    each his portion '   See §§243, 285.
yata ścutad agnāv eva tat AŚ . *yata ścutad dhutam agnau tad astu* KS ·
    yatra cuścutad agnāv evaitat MŚ · *dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat*
    ApŚ   Both forms intransitive, 'dropped'.   But the MŚ. reading
    cuścutad is a very doubtful emendation of corrupt mss , in all
    probability *ścutad* is the real reading.   See further §219, end The
    2 aor. *aścutat* is quoted in Whitney's *Roots* only from Hindu gram-
    marians
ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā (so divide) *adidyutat* (VSK *atidyutat*) *savīmani*
    AV. SV. VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ N   The VSK read-
    ing is obviously secondary, and phonetic in character; but it is
    worth noting that the 3 aor. form is here (like the substituted
    2 aor.) intransitive ('shone')

Sigmatic Aorists varying with non-sigmatic

§202. *1st and 4th Aorists*
askan gām ṛṣabho yuvā KŚ : *askān ṛṣabho yuvā gāh* TB TA ApŚ

askann (ŚŚ. *askān*) *adhita prājani* ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ : *askān ajani prājani*
   TB TA. ApŚ
askan parjanyah pṛthivīm KŚ . *askān dyauh pṛthivīm* TB TA ApŚ
askān (GB *askan*) *somah* KS GB˙
brahman somo 'skan (KS ApŚ *'skān*) KS. GB Vait. ApŚ.
drapsas te dyām mā skan (KS ApŚ. *skān*, MS *te divam mā skān*) VS.
   MS KS ŚB ApŚ.
ahāh śarīram (TB *ahāc cha°*) *payasā sameti* (TB *sametya*) TB. Vait
   ahāh is 3d person, 'he hath quitted his body' etc.
āprā (AV *āprād*) *dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣam* RV AV. (both) ArS VS
   TS MS KS. ŚB. TB. AA TA N.   *āprā(h)* is 3d sing , the AV. form
   is certainly secondary, it has phonetic aspects, see §24.
bhūyānso bhūyāsma ye ca no bhūyasah kārṣṭa Kauś   *bhūyānso bhūyāsta*
   ye no bhūyaso 'karta MS   Same with *annādā bhū°*
asmaddviṣah sunītho mā parā daih MS ˙ *dviṣā sunīte mā parādāh* TA.
   The MS form is best taken as an irregular 4 aor , cf. Whitney,
   Grammar §894c, for the closest known parallels. *dāh* might also,
   tho less probably, be classed as 4 aor.
api panthām aganmahi (TS. ApŚ *agasmahi*) RV. TS MS KS AŚ ApŚ.
   ŚG
rasena sam aganmahi (RV. *agasmahi*) RV KS LŚ
adarśus (ŚŚ *adrākṣus*) *tvā śāsahastam* AB ŚŚ *adarśus* is altogether
   irregular, and its ending seems borrowed from *adrākṣus*.
mā bheh VS. TS ŚB TB. KŚ ApŚ : *mā bhaih* MS KS. MŚ. Best
   taken as 1 and 4 aor.
mā bher mā roñ (VSK *mo roñ*, TS. *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS *mo eṣām*) *kim*
   canāmamat VS VSK. TS ŚB.: *mā bhair mā ruñ mo ca* (KS. *rauñ*
   mā) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS   *rauñ* (*rauk*) is clearly 4 aor , *roñ*
   and *ruñ* seem both to be best classed as 1 aor.
   §203. *1st and 5th Aorists*
mā pṛnan pūrtyā vi rādhiṣṭa (TS *rādhi*) TS MS. KS. *rādhi* is of course
   passive, see §87 and Whitney §843.
iṣam ūrjam sam agrabham (TS *agrabhīm*) VS. TS. MS KS ŚB. Ob-
   viously *agrabhīm* is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhīt*; see §262, d.
   §204 *2d and 4th Aorists*
āpo·malam iva prānaikṣīt (ApŚ. *prāniyan*) AV. ApŚ
   §205 *2d and 5th (and, once, 7th) Aorists*
bahu hāyam (MS *ha vā ayam*) *avarṣīd* (TS *avṛṣād*, KS *avṛṣad*) *iti* ..TS
   MS. KS   But this variant is only very doubtfully placed here.
   avṛṣād (see Keith on TS 2. 4. 7 2) can only be an error for *avṛṣaā*,
   which may perhaps better be regarded as imperfect than as 2 aor. .

ent tenses; the value of such pairs is *a fortiori* identical   Modal forms
from stems other than present or aorist are rare in all periods, so it
happens that all the correspondences of this rubric are between present
and aorist   Non-sigmatic aorists are, moreover, frequently indistinguishable from formally identical present system forms   This introduces
into the group pairs which may be judged, and have been judged in
grammars and lexicons, to be merely corresponding forms of different
present systems, such as *kṛdhi* and *kṛṣva* in relation to *kṛnu (kuru)* and
kṛṇuṣva; or *pātam* to *pibatam*, or *śrotā* to *śṛnota.* Contrariwise, some
modal pairs rubricated as coming from two different present stems, such
as *yukṣva yuñkṣva* (§192), may be construed as aorists; such items should,
perhaps, be listed in both places   We are inclined to regard the doubt-
ful forms in such pairs as aorists, tho we have followed scholarly tradi-
tion in classing *yukṣva* as present. See our discussion §10ff

§209. In Classical Sanskrit the prohibitive with *mā* is regularly an
augmentless aorist. In the Veda augmentless imperfects are commoner,
and this has produced a group of variants in which augmentless forms
of the two tenses vary with each other, in addition to the general in-
stability of the prohibitive moods as summarized in §§181f. The
following two rubrics list the tense interchanges in connection with
the same mood, first in categorical and then in prohibitive clauses.

§210. *Interchanges of the same mood in different tenses in categorical
clauses*

(a) *Imperatives*

tato no abhayam kṛdhi (ŚŚ **kuru*) RV. AV. SV. VS AB. PB TB. TA.
   AŚ ŚŚ (both) ApŚ MŚ MahānU

suputrām subhagām kuru (RV. *kṛnu*, SMB. *kṛdhi*) RV. SMB. ApMB.
   HG.

patim ekādaśam kṛdhi (SMB. HG *kuru*) RV. SMB. ApMB. HG. In
   same stanza as prec. Note that all texts vary the form, except
   HG which has *kuru* both times

patim me kevalam kuru (AV. ApMB *kṛdhi*) RV. AV. ApMB.

parācīnā mukhā kṛdhi (KS. *kuru*) AV VS TS. MS. KS

vi jihīṣva lokam kṛnu AV.. *vi jihīrṣva lokān kṛdhi* TA.

athā mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva RV †· *adhā mano vasudeyāya kṛṇuṣva* AV.
   (poor meter).

vivasva ādityaiṣa te somapīthas tena (KS. *tasmin*) *mandasva*   TS KS.
   vivasvann (VSK. °*vān*) *ādityaiṣa te somapīthas tasmin matsva* VS.
   VSK ŚB. Contrary to Whitney, *Roots*, we regard *matsva* as 4 aor.
   rather than present.

aśvinā gharmam pātam (MS *pibatam*) VS MS ŚB TA ŚŚ. ApŚ
pātam may be present

dıvam gacha svar vında yajamānāya mahyam MŚ · *devān gacha suvar*
vıda (ApŚ. *vında*) etc TB. ApŚ

rayım gṛnatsu dıdhṛtam (and *dhāraya*) RV. (both).   See *RV Rep.* 271,
528

śṛnota (VS ŚB *śrotā*) *grāvāno vıduṣo nu* (VS ŚB *na*) *yajñam* VS TS
MS KS

devīr āpah śuddhā yūyam devān yuyudhvam (KS *yūdhvam*) MS KS
Cf *āpo devīh śuddhāyuvah śuddhā yūyam devān ūdhvam* TS. *devīr*
āpah śuddhā vodhvam suparıvıṣṭā deveṣu VS ŚB

tasmın (Vaıt MŚ.·*tasmıns*) *tad eno vasavo nı dhetana* (Vaıt *dhattana*)
RV. TAA. Vaıt MŚ

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādıtyāh sadantu VS ŚB : *vasūnām rudrānām ādıtyā-*
nām sadası sīda TS TB ApŚ.

sā mā samıddhāyuṣā . . *samıntām* (one ms *samindhatām*) TA   *sā mā*
samıddhā . . *samindhıṣatām* MS

See also the doubtful cases rubricated in §198 as interchanges between
root-presents (but possibly aorists) and reduplicating presents, *datta·*
dāta, dhāntu dhatta, dātam dattam

(b) *Subjunctives*
sa (AV *sā*) *nah śarma trıvarūtham vı yansat* (AV. *nı yachāt*) RV. AV.
MS KS TB. ApŚ

kataro menım pratı tam mucāte (Vaıt. *muñcāte*) RV. Vaıt *muñcāte* is
metrically inferior   But *mucāte* may, less probably, be regarded
as present, § 192

(c) *Injunctives*
uc chvañcasva (TA *chmañcasva*) *pṛthıvı mā nı bādhathāh* (TA *vı bādhı-*
thāh) RV. AV TA

(d) *Optatives*
yuyuyātām ıto rapo apa srıdhah RV. *yūyātām asmad rapo apa srıdhah*
TB ApŚ

parı vo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh (TB *vṛñyāt*) RV TB   Other versions of
this ancient formula §104, u   The RV form is archaic

devasya (*devasyāham*) *savıtuh save* (*prasave*)   *nākam ruhcyam* (GB
roheyam) VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB TB GB Vaıt MŚ ApŚ LŚ

marto vurīla (TS *vṛṇīta*, KS *vareta*) *sakhyam* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB
See next

dyumnam (KS * °*ne*) *vṛṇīta puṣyase* (KS *vareta puṣyatu*) RV. VS TS
MS. KS ŚB   *vṛṇīta* might be called injunctive, but the parallels
make it preferable to class it as optative.

§211 *Prohibitive Injunctives (augmentless preterites)*

Imperfect (one 'pluperfect') and aorist

ृha mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ. ApŚ. HG. vepi̇dhvam) VS. LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG.

mā tvā vṛkṣah (TA. vṛkṣau) sam bādhiṣṭa (TA bādhiṣṭām, and bādhethām) AV. TA.

maınam agne vı daho mābhı śocaḥ (AV. śūśucaḥ) RV. AV. TA AŚ. In a tṛṣṭubh stanza

maınām arcıṣā mā tapasābhı (VS. KS. maināṃ tapasā mārcıṣābhi̇) śocīh (KS. śocaḥ, TS. śūśucah) VS TS. MS KS

mā bhaıṣīr (RVKh AV bibher) na marıṣyası RVKh AV SMB. GG. ApMB.· na marº mā bibheh AV.

ūrdhvas tıṣṭhan mā dıvā svāpsīh Kauś . mā dıvā suṣupthāh (SMB GG. HG svāpsīh) ŚG. SMB GG PG HG.: mā suṣupthāh ŚB ApMB : dıvā mā svāpsīh AG suṣupthāh ıs augmentless preterite perfect, or pluperfect ınjunctive.

3 TRUE INTERCHANGES OF TENSE

INDICATIVES OF VARIOUS TENSES VARYING WITH EACH OTHER (ALSO A FEW PARTICIPLES)

[§212. These may be called 'true ınterchanges of tense' ın the sense that, ın the Veda at any rate, the several tense-forms are commonly understood to carry differences of function. To be sure, às between what we call 'present' and 'preterite', for ınstance, or between the various types which serve, or may serve, as preterites, the distinctions are not always 'temporal' ın a narrow sense   And we shall find here again an elasticity of function quite sımilar to that whıch we met ın our study of the moods, ‘tho conditioned, of course, by somewhat different circumstances We shall discuss the examples under three heads· a Interchanges between the Preterites, b Interchanges between Present and the Preterites, and c. Interchanges between Future and the other tenses We may remınd the reader that the lıst of Interchanges between more than two modal varıeties (§104) contains several varıants whıch should be added to the followıng lısts

a Interchanges between the Preterites

§213 The recent work of Renou (*La Valeur du Parfaıt dans les hymnes védıques*, Parıs, 1925) has absorbed and largely superseded most prevıous

work on the Vedic tenses   Chapter III of that book, more especially
pages 29–82, is devoted to a searching study of the preterite use of the
perfect and its relation to the corresponding uses of the imperfect and
aorist   The work is carried out with great learning, diligence, and acu-
men, and its results are not likely to be overthrown in any important
respects (cf the review published in *JAOS* 49. 64 ff)   Of special
interest to us are the remarks on page 41, towards the bottom, where,
referring to Bloomfield's article 'On the instability in the use of moods',
AJP. 23 1ff , Renou says   'la variation dans les temps n'est pas moins
manifeste.'   Such indeed seems from the variants to be the case   The
aorist was shown long ago by Delbruck *AI Tempuslehre*, 5ff., *Vgl Synt* 2
240 f to be specially appropriate to facts falling within the experience
of the speaker, of which he knows personally, consequently, to recent
events, and facts about which special confidence exists or is claimed
Hence what we have referred to as the 'prophetic aorist', which is a
special favorite, as we saw, in expressing as already accomplished things
which the speaker ardently desires (cf. Renou 26f., calling attention to
its frequency in magic charms)   Hence its variation with the modal
forms, described above, and with the present indicative, below   The
imperfect and perfect are often used more or less interchangeably refer-
ring to events of the remoter past (Renou 30 ff), such difference as is
discernible between perfect and imperfect as narrative tenses appears
often in this, that the perfect expresses facts of greater permanence
(Renou 49) or importance (65), and is frequently used in standing
formulas (64), as distinguished from the normal imperfect of simple
narration   Meter often plays a part in the choice of tense-form (Renou
45 f), thus in the RV itself we find the variant

   ava tmanā dhṛṣatā (bṛhatah) śambaram bhinat (7 18 20 *bhet*), 1 54 4
and 7. 18 20,
where *bhinat*, imperfect, and *bhet*, aorist, are merely *jagatī* and *triṣṭubh*
forms of precisely the same idea   It would be pedantry to try to find
any real difference here.   Metrical convenience certainly plays a part
in a number of other variants, tho it is not always as clear as here

   §214 Even the 'prophetic aorist' is paralleled by equally 'prophetic'
uses of the other preterites   One evidence of this is the general fact
that, as we saw (§§127 ff), they vary with modal forms only less fre-
quently than the aorist   But further, the aorist appears in direct and
apparently unstrained exchange with other preterites, and that too
occasionally in places which seem to cry out for a 'prophetic' form
Thus,

trīny āyūṃṣi te 'karam AV , 'I have made three lives for thee ' What could be more 'prophetic' than this aorist, more in keeping with the medicine man's confident blah of sorcerous intent? Yet, in a (doubt-less later) form of the same pāda, JUB reads

trīny āyūṃṣi me 'kṛnoh, 'thou hast made three lives for me', with im-perfect instead of aorist

§215 Again, a formula where our sense demands a perfect, because it refers to Indra's mythic conquests, appears in the RV itself with perfect and aorist interchanging

ny āsa (ānad) indrah pṛtanāh svojāh, 'Indra hath conquered all battles, in his great strength '

Can the aorist here possibly be justified as picturing the event as com-ing within the certain knowledge of the speaker? It seems doubtful Compare also below, §219, *yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (mumoca)*, where aorist and perfect interchange in a pāda for which the imperfect seems demanded by the usual rules

§216 It is, of course, evident that the mere appearance of the same formula with now one preterite tense, now another, does not prove that both have precisely the same meaning For it is not difficult to slip from one psychological attitude into another, while still envisaging the same event And we shall show below (see, e g , the pāda *ṛtasya yonau mahisā ahinvan* etc , §217) that sometimes the alteration is eminently suited to a changed situation Yet, when all is said and done, and when allowance has been made for the fact that the variants are far less numer-ous here than in the case of the moods, they seem to show conclusively that there is no very great wrench in substituting one preterite for another, and so furnish presumptive evidence in favor of great laxity in their use —F E]

§217 *Imperfect and Aorist*

ava tmanā dhṛṣatā (and, *bṛhatah*) *śambaram bhinat* (and, *bhet*) RV (both). See above

trīny āyūṃṣi te karam (JUB *me kṛnoh*) AV. JUB See above

tābhih samrabdham anv aiindan (TB *samrabdho aiidat*) *sad urvīh* AV. TB The TB improves the meter.

avindac charyanāvati (MS °*dañ sar*°) MS KS. *tad ridac charyanārati* RV. AV SV TB

akarat sūryavarcasam ApMB *akṛnoh sūryatiacam* RV. AV JB : *avakṛnot sūryatvacam* MG

yadi vṛkṣād abhyapaptat (HG *vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat*) *phalam* (AV.

phalam tat) AV HG.. (*yadı vṛkṣād yady antarıkṣāt*) *phalam abhya-
paptat*   ApMB.

apām stoLo abhyapaptad rasena (ApMB. °*paptac chıvena*, HG °*patac
chıvāya*) AV ApMB HG

ulūkhalā (ApMB *aulū*°, AV *vānaspatyā*) *grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* (MG.
akurvata) AV ApMB HG MG *akurvata* is shown by the meter to
be secondary, the MG substitutes the ordinary narrative imperfect
for the archaic aorist

ṛtasya yonau (RV *yonā*) *mahıṣā ahınvan* (RV *aheṣata*) RV TS KS
ApMB. The aorist is 'the normal tense to describe the opera-
tions of the sacrifice' (Renou 31), and so is appropriate to this de-
scription of the soma-pressing in RV 9 ˙86 25d   In fact the YV.
pāda is a blend of this pāda with RV 10 45 3d *apām upasthe
mahıṣā avardhan*, and preserves the imperfect which is appropriate
to that verse, in a mythic narrative relating to Agni

parı ṣya suvāno akṣāh RV (*akṣār*, 3d sing 4 aor) *parı sya svāno akṣarat*
SV   The SV has a later and simpler form, which also eases the
meter   See next

pavıtre somo akṣāh (SV *akṣarat*) RV SV   As prec

asapatnā kılābhuvam (ApMB °*bhavam*) RV ApMB Cf *asapatnah
kılābhuvam* RV. In this and the next four variants phonetic con-
siderations are involved, and help to explain the variation if they
do not completely account for it, see §23

tatra pūṣābhavat (SV °*bhuvat*) *sacā* RV SV KS

nemış cakram ıvābhavat (SV. MS °*bhuvat*) RV SV TS MS

yat some-soma ābhavah (SV *ābhuvah*) RV SV

yad dūre sann ıhābhavah (SV. °*bhuvah*) RV SV. MŚ N

apaśyam (and, *adṛśan*) *tvāıarohantam* NīlarU (both)   The second (aor)
is a conscious modification of the first (imperf), several stanzas
before it, with change of person and number No more than
stylistic reasons can have dictated the change (variety for its own
sake, perhaps)

savıtā vy akalpayat ŚG *sınīvāly qcīklpat* AV The imperfect is clearly
secondary, cf *akarat akṛnoh* above, to which this is quite similar

yad vāto apo (MS. MŚ '*po*) *aganīgan* (TS KS ApŚ *agamat*) VS TS
MS KSA ApŚ. MŚ The imperf. intensive is better than the
aorist, as Keith observes on TS 7 4 20 1, mythic events are re-
ferred to

yo ma dadātı sa ıd eva māvāh (ArS. NṛpU *māvat*) ArS TB TA. TU
NṛpU N The comm on TB *āvāḥ = āvṛṇotı, svīkarotı āvāḥ*

seems indeed to be 4 aor. 3d sing of *ā + vṛ*   But Deussen, *60 Up.*
240 and 765 'wer mich austeilt, der labt mich eben damit.'
[*abhi tvā varcasāsiñcan* (KS TB °*sicam*) AV. KS. TB.   But the true
AV. reading is °*sican*, see Whitney's note on 4. 8. 6.]

§218 *Imperfect and Perfect*

apām upasthe mahiṣo vavardha (RV.* VS. ŚB. *mahiṣa avardhan*) RV
(both) AV. SV. VS. ŚB TA.   'In the lap of the waters the mighty
one (Agni) throve (thrives)', a statement of permanent truth, in
the imperfect version Agni is the object, and the verb is narrative
of mythical events, 'the mighty ones increased (Agni).'

vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV : *vi yo rajānsy amimīta sukratuh* RV.

agnir hotā ni ṣasādā yajīyān RV. TS MS. KS.: *hotā mandro ni°* *ya°*
RV. MS. KS. TB   *agnir hotā ny asīdad yajīyān* RV. MS. KS AB.
AŚ

ṛṣir hotā ny asīdat (TS † *ni ṣasādā*) *pitā nah* RV. VS. TS MS. KS

tvam ā tatanthorv (ArS. *tanor urv*) *antarikṣam* RV. ArS VS. MS. KS. TB.

ny anyā arkam abhito viviśre (AV. '*viśanta;* JB. *viviśyuh*) RV. AV JB.
ŚB. AA.

yā akṛntann avayan yā atanvata (AV. *yāś ca tatnire*) AV. SMB. PG.
ApMB HG · *yā akṛntan yā atanvan* MG   Note the precisely
parallel verbs, imperf. and perf, in AV., apparently the older
form, in the others tense-assimilation

anavas te ratham aśvāya takṣan (SV. *takṣuh*) RV SV. TS. MS KS.   But
takṣuh is regarded by some scholars as aorist; see Renou 56;
Wackernagel, I 1, p XV

vi mamarśa rohito viśvarūpah TB : *vi rohito amṛśad viśvarūpam* AV.

abhi pra nonuvur (SV. *nonavur*) *girah* RV SV   *nonuvur* perf. (Whitney,
Grammar §1018a), *nonavur* augmentless imperf.   But see §23.

aham viveca (KS *astabhnām*) *pṛthivīm uta dyām* AV   KS.

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ *mā°*, TS ApMB * *yam abadhnīta*, MŚ MG. *yaj*
jagrantha) *savitā suṣevah* (AV °*vāh*, TS. ApMB * *suketah*, MŚ. MG.
satyadharmā) RV. AV TS MŚ KŚ ApMB MG

prajā ha tisro (AV JB *tisro ha prajā*) *atyāyam īyuh* (AV. *āyan*) RV AV.
JB ŚB AA

kim svid vanam ka u sa vṛkṣa āsīt (RV. VS *āsa*) RV VS. TS. MS KS.
TB   Cf Renou 43, and next

āpo bhadrā (MS. KS *devīr*) *ghṛtam id āpa āsan* (TS *āsuh*, MS *ghṛtam-*
invā ū āpah) AV TS MS KS Cf. prec

indrāvathuh (VSK °*vadnuh*, KS * TB ApŚ °*vatam*) *kāvyair* (TB. ApŚ
karmanā) *dansanābhih* RV. AV. VS VSK. MS KS (both) ŚB.
TB ApŚ.

yena devā amṛtam anv avindan AV   *yena devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuh* RV
asya made ahim indro jaghāna RV   *asya made jaritar indro 'him ahan*
ŚŚ

prathamā ha vy uvāsa sā AV MS KS Kauś SMB GG KhG *yā
prathamā vyauchat* TS. PG HG   *arhanā putravāsasā* (read, *putra
uvāsa sā*, see Jorgensen on SMB. 2 8 1) SMB GG.

(*devīr dvāra indram samghāte*) *vīdvīr yāmann avardhayan* (TB *vidvīr
yāman vavardhayan*) VS TB   If correct, *vavardhayan* would be a
nonce-blend of imperf and perf , but Poona ed of TB reads *yā-
mann avar°*, and this is doubtless the true reading

§219 *Aorist and Perfect*

vy ānad (and, *āsa*) *indrah pṛtanāh svojāh* RV (both)   See above, §215
yena śravānsy ānaśuh (SV *āśata*) RV SV   Reference is to ancient
    events, the aor is inappropriate
viśvam id dhītam (MS *dhitam*) *ānasuh* (SV *āsata*) RV AV SV MS
    ApŚ   As prec
narāśanse (VS *nārā°*) *somapītham ya āśuh* (KS *ānaśuh*) VS MS KS
    TB   But *āśuh* may also, and perhaps preferably, be taken as per-
    fect.   The sense certainly does not suggest the aorist
naro yaṭ̀te duduhur dakṣinena TB   *naro yad vā te hastayor adhukṣan*
    Vait   Reference is to pressing of the soma, most naturally felt in
    Vait as that which has just taken place, the aor is more appropriate
yena sūryam tamaso nir amoci (TA *mumoca*) MS TA 'By which (Trita)
    freed (of old) the sun from darkness ' An instructive case   Accord-
    ing to our feeling the imperfect would be required, since reference
    is to a mythic event   Yet TA has the perfect, and MS the (wholly
    inappropriate) aorist !
na sīm adeva āpat (SV *āpa tat*) RV. SV ŚŚ   'No godless man has (ever)
    attained (or attains. so wealth)   A most general statement, to
    which it would seem that the perfect would be appropriate, yet it
    is found only in the secondary SV , which may have been influ-
    enced by a desire to improve the meter
achidrośiyah kavayah padānutakṣiṣuh (so emended, ms *padāni takṣiṣvat*)
    KS   *achidrā uśiyah padānu takṣuh* TS   Cf the variant *anavas te*
    etc , §218
iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādam (TS ApŚ *ādade*, MS KS MŚ *ādi*) VS
    TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ
yad antarikṣam tad u me (MS † *nah*) *pitābhūt* (VSK *pitāsa*) VS VSK
    TS MS ŚB

vrajam gomantam uśiyo vi vavruh (KS. *uśiyo apa vran*) RV AV VS TS MS KS. ApMB. 'The eager (fathers, of old) opened the stall of cows.' Aorist seems out of place, unless KS. feels the act as brought down into the immediate past

viśvā adhi śriyo dadhe RV · 'dhita RV KS TB . *dhiṣe* (present) RV. The aor. *'dhita* (10 127 1) has Night for subject; 'she has (just now) assumed all glories' The perfect *dadhe* (2 8. 5) is said of Agni, and is a general and more or less permanent statement, and substantially equivalent is the present of 10 21 3, of which the subject is also Agni. Is *dhiṣe* possibly modal? Cf. §165

vāk patamgāya śiśriye TS . *vāk patamgo aśiśriyat* (KS °gā aśiśrayuh) AV. KS. See note in Whitney on AV 6 31 3, and cf. Conc

pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB °bhaiṣam, PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG. ApMB HG. *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh See §§206, 267. *jagrabham* is pluperfect

dyaur yataś cyutad agnāv eva tat ApŚ (*dyaur* belongs to the prec pāda, and probably *yata ścutad* is the true reading): *pṛthivyām avacuścotaitat* TB ApŚ · *yata ścūtad* (so read) *agnāv eva tat* AŚ . *yata ścutad dhutam agnau tad astu* KŚ : *yatra cuścutad agnāv evaitat* MŚ (so emended, but a better emendation, quite as close to the mss, would be *yatra ścutad*). The aorist *aścutat* is quoted only from grammarians in Whitney's *Roots*

§220. *Pluperfect and other Preterites*

pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (°bhaiṣam, *nāma jagrabham*); *pitur nāmeva jagrabha*, see just above

priyām yamas tanvam prārirecīt (classed as anomalous plup , AV *tanvam ā rireca*) RV AV

punsah kartur mātary āsisikta JB . *punsā kartrā mātari mā nisiñca* (read *nisiñcata?*) KBU Acc to Deussen, *60 Up*. 25, three mss of KBU read *mā asisikta*

indrāya suṣuvur (MS KS *indrāyāsuṣuvur*) *madam* VS MS KS TB. But see §267

ayam dhruvo rayīnām ciketa yat (SV *ciketad ā*) RV. SV *ciketad* could, of course, be considered modal, but the sense of the passage suggests that it is better taken as augmentless plup (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §820)

yāś ca (AV *yā*) *devīr* (SMB *devyo*) *antān* (AV *antān;* PG *devīs tantūn*) *abhito 'dadanta* (SMB † *'tatantha*, PG *tatantha*) AV ApMB SMB. PG The form *'tatantha* is a corruption, evidently felt as 3 plur.

plup mid , for °*ta* (so Stonner, PG comm reads *tatantha* and takes it as 2 sing. perf. act , despite the impossible sandhi).

toyena jīvān vi sasarja (so! TA *vya ca sarja*, comm v. 1 *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA. MahānU   The text reading of TA is a mere corruption; the variant, an anomalous augmented perfect   Hardly belongs here; see §267.

Cf also the interchange between Present and Pluperfect, §233

b *Interchanges between Present and the Preterites*

§221. The entire business of tense in the mantras is emasculated, as it were, or at least confused, because these texts are in the main sentimental rather than narrative or historical   Legends and legendary allusions are, of course, narrative, implying some precision in time statements . They occur often enough in the mantras   Indra slew Vṛtra, or the Aśvins saved the son of Tugra from the machinations of his father, both in the past   In such cases present or future is unimaginable   But Indra also hath aided, did aid, aids, shall, and will aid him that calls upon him   We are again, a large part of the time, in the domain of modality, either belief, wish, or demand, rather than in the domain of genuinely statable fact   Fixation in point or quality of time becomes precarious, because the thing can be and is supposed to happen in any time.   Some of the cases of interchange between present and perfect may concern the 'old' use of the perfect, to express something regarded as permanently established (Renou 7 and *passim*), this is specially suited to such psychological spheres   Thus in

agnim naras triṣadhasthe sam īdhire (SV TS. *indhate*) RV SV TS KS 'men have kindled (i e regularly do kindle, or, SV TS , simply kindle) Agni on his three seats', the action described is applicable to any situation and time, RV conceives it as a quasi-cosmic fact   But, as Renou has shown, even the perfect is normally a preterite tense in the RV , and it is doubtful to what extent we should allow its variation with the present to seduce us into assuming the old, non-preterite function for it   For the other preterites exchange about as commonly with the present as it does, and often it seems clear that whatever difference in meaning exists is purely sentimental, a matter of the way the poet looks at things, rather than factual   So that the line of demarcation between even such tenses as are ordinarily differentiated in Hindu speech is a good deal effaced   In the RV itself we meet the pāda

ud vām pṛkṣāso madhumanto asthuh (4 45 2 *madhumanta īrate*) RV 4 45 2, 7 60 4, MS , 'your honeyed steeds (O Aśvins) have started

up (rush forth).' We take it that what is really meant in both cases is, 'let them start or rush forth' Similarly,

yam aichāma (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV ApŚ., whom we craved (I crave), he hath come.' The craving is good for all time; a view which would see in the imperfect its regular sense of 'craved of old' is of course neither demonstrable nor refutable.

§222. In the sphere of charms and exorcisms especially, where desire hovers before the eye of the speaker, and all results are imaginary, the tenses indifferently lapse into moods, if sounded to the bottom   The formal tense distinction between the prophetic aorist and the present is merged into a substantially identical modal value for both, as in.

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hatah VS etc , 'we have slain the demon, slain so-and-so, so-and-so is slain', and   *idam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS etc , 'I drive off this demon'   Both really mean that the speaker eagerly wants to accomplish the result stated   Naturally, therefore, all the preterites, as well as the present, freely interchange with moods, as we have seen above.

§223. For the rest, even in the quasi-narrative sphere of mythology the tenses intermingle because many myths are not sufficiently stable to keep them from doing so.   Even the RV is the final precipitate of ideas and compositions which had a long past, more so the other Vedic texts   Mythic ideas, such as the freeing of the light cows from the demonic Panis, are thrown forward into the present, as if to be performed over again at the moment, where they mean extracting *dakṣinā*-cows from grudging non-sacrificers   Many other mythic ideas refer not only to definite events in the past, but to habitual performances in harmony with the subject or character of the myth.   Thus the pious, sacrificing sages of the Aṅgiras or Uśij character figure primarily in the past, but easily reproduce themselves in the present

sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV AV KS , 'the pious called (call) upon Sarasvatī'   To be sure, AV comm   reads *ahvayanta*

tām dhīrāsah kavayo 'nudiśyāyajanta (v 1 and p p °*dṛśyā*°) MS   *tām dhīrāso anudṛśya* (VSK °*diśya*) *yajante* (KS † *anudṛśyāyajanta kavayah*) VSK TS KS TB .   *tām u dhīrāso anudiśya yajante* VS ŚB , 'her (earth) looking after (pointing to) the sages worship(ped)'

§224   Even an epithet like *prathama* is not sufficient to prevent this transfer to the present, if we may trust Knauer's quotation from an unedited part of MŚ ·

viśvasṛjah prathame (TB ApŚ °*māh*) *sattram āsata* (MŚ *āsate*) PB TB.

ApŚ. MŚ, 'the all-creators of yore performed (perform) a *sattra*-session.'

§225   In these cases the presents are logically inferior, in two at least, and probably in all three, they represent secondary readings   But no great wrench is required in order to use them   Similarly in *oṣadhayaḥ sam vadante* (VS. *avadanta*) RV. VS VSK. TS, 'the plants confer(red) together.'

yatrausadhīḥ samagmata RV. VS   *yad oṣadhayaḥ samgachante* (KS *sa-magmata*) TS MS. KS. 'where (when) the plants have come (come) together '

These passages allude to slender, myth-like conceptions which may just as well be conceived in the present as in the past

§226   It may also be remembered that occasionally a present, at all periods of the language, is 'historical', that is used of past events to add liveliness to the narrative   All these considerations, together with the instability of oral tradition, which at times doubtless introduces really faulty variants, account sufficiently for the considerable number of inter-changes between present and all sorts of preterites

§227. We have alluded above to the special position of the perfect, the use of which has recently been made the object of Renou's study. We may conclude these introductory remarks by mentioning a few variants in which perfect forms seem either certainly or very probably to have no preterite value whatever

anu vām ekaḥ pavir ā vavarta (TB. *vavarti*) RV MS TB 'one wagon-tire rolls after you two (Mitra and Varuna).'   The present of TB, tho secondary of course, is as it were an ancient commentary on *vavarta*

prajāḥ pupoṣa purudhā vi rājati RV VS   *prajāḥ piparti bahudhā vi rājati* SV. ArS. MS KS ApŚ 'he prospers (furthers) our offspring manifoldly' etc

sam sūryena rocate (SV *didyute*, VS.* *didyutat*) RV. SV. VS (both) MS. ŚB TA.   Cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 345.   Of course *didyutat* may be modal

nindati tvo anu tvo gṛṇāti (MS *vavanda*) MS KS : *pīyati tvo anu tvo gṛṇāti* RV. VS. TS. ŚB N 'some blame, others praise '   Here the perfect *vavanda*, replacing the present *gṛṇāti* and matching the pres-
· ent *nindati*, can be put down with almost mathematical certainty as non-preterite

§228 The variants are divided into four groups   Present and Im-perfect, Aorist, Perfect, and Pluperfect respectively.   We have not thought it worth while to burden our lists with such a ritual litany as

MS 4. 9 23-24, where, first, ritual situations are approached anticipatorily, with verbs in the present or future indicative, or in various moods; and then, after the completion of the rite, the same litany is repeated practically verbatim with change of the verbs to preterites, as e g. *agne vratapate vratam carisyāmi . acārṣam* A close parallel to this passage in TA 4. 41. 1-6.

§229. Present and Imperfect

ulūkhalā (ApMB. *aul°*) *grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* (MG *akurvata*) ApMB. HG MG : *aulūkhalāh sampravadanti grāvānah* SMB · *vānaspatyā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata* AV Aorists also concerned here.

catuṣpadīm anv emi (AV. *aitad*) *vratena* RV AV. On the anomalous form *aitat* see Whitney-Lanman on AV. 18 3 ·40

yam aichāma (ApŚ *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ.

sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvayanta (AV. *havante*) RV. AV KS. But AV. comm. *ahvayanta*

tām dhārāsah kavayo 'nudiśyāyayanta etc , see §223

prasnāpayanty ūrminam (SV. *°yanta ūrmayah*) RV. SV. Note hiatus in SV.

sam bāhubhyām dhamati (MS ° *yām adhamat*) *sam patatraih* RV. VS MS MahānU. ŚvetU And others, see §50

yat sunvate yajamānāya śikṣam (and, *śikṣathah*) RV (both).

uro vā padbhir (Kauś. *padbhir*) *āhate* (Kauś SMB .*°ta*, but Jörgensen *°te*) TS. ŚŚ KŚ MŚ Kauś SMB.

śrīnānā apsu mṛñjata (SV. *vṛñjate*) RV SV.

yam nirmanthato aśvinā RV ApMB. HG MG . *yābhyām nirmanthatām aśvinau devau* ŚB. BrhU.

uta gāva wādanti (TB *wādan*) RV. TB.

viśvasṛjah prathame (TB ApŚ *°māh*) *sattram āsata* (MŚ. *āsate*) PB. TB. ApŚ MŚ

surayā mūtrāj janayanti (VS † *°ta*) *retah* VS TB · *surāyā mūtrāj janayanta* (KS † *°ti*) *retah* MS KS.

oṣadhayah sam vadante (VS *sam avadanta*) RV. VS. VSK. TS.

gāvau te sāmanāv itah (AV *aitām*) RV. AV

asurās tvā nyakhanan AV *nīcaih khananty asurāh* AV.

andhena yat (TA *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA *°si*) AV. TA.

sapta svasāro abhi sam navante (AV. *navanta*) RV. AV The AV form may be considered injunctive

adhāyata (ŚŚ *°te*) *devarātah* AB. ŚŚ.

rathītamau rathīnām ahva (KS. *°nām kuva*) *ūtaye* TS MS. KS

tam ahve (SV. *u huve*) *vājasātaye* RV. SV.   Phonetic corruption in SV.,
see §23, end

āśūn iva suyamān ahva ūtaye AV   *āśūn huve suyamān ūtaye* TS MS. KS

mano nv ā huvāmahe (Vait °*hi;* VS ŚB KŚ Kauś *hvāmahe*) RV. VS
VSK. TS MS KS AB. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ. KŚ. LŚ ApŚ Vait Kauś.
See §2.

§230   *Present and Aorist*

ulūkhalā grāvāno ghoṣam akrata, etc , see §229.

ud vām pṛkṣāso etc., see §221

yad oṣadhayaḥ (RV VS *yatrauṣadhīḥ*) *samagmata* (TS MS *samgachante*)
RV̀ VS TS MS KS

dṛśāno rukma urvyā (RV KS *urviyā*, MS *uruyā*) *vy adyaut* (MS. *vi
bhāti*) RV VS TS MS. KS. ŚB ApMB

gāyatrena chandasā pṛthivīm anu vi krame TS. *pṛthivyām* (KŚ. °*vīm*)
viṣnur (MS *viṣnuh pṛthivyām*) *vyakraṅsta gāyatrena chandasā* VS
MS. KS ŚB. ŚŚ   And the same with *traiṣṭubhena   antarikṣam,*
and *jāgatena   divam* .

yad rātriyāt (and, *ahnāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA   *yad rātriyā* (MahānU
TA. v 1 *rātryā*, also, *ahnā*) *pāpam alārṣam* (TA˙ v. 1 *alāriṣam*)
TA. MahānU   See §30.

prāṇasya brahmacāry asi (ApMB. *asmi*, HG. *abhūr asau*) AG ApMB
HG MG

brahmacaryam āgām (MG *upemasi*, Kauś text *āgam*, unnoted in Conc ,
perhaps misprint) ŚB Kauś SMB GG PG ApMB ApG HG
MG.   A metrical pāda is produced in MG out of what is prose
in the others; the context is different

yadā tvam abhivarṣasi PraśU . *yadā prāno abhyàvarṣīt* AV.

pra vā etīndur indrasya niṣkṛtim AV   *pro ayāsīd indur indrasya niṣkṛtam*
RV SV PB

gṛhān aimi (LŚ HG *emi*, ApŚ *āgām*) *manasā modamānah* (AV *sumanā
vandamānah*, ApŚ * *modamānah suvarcāh*, LŚ. *manasā daivena*) AV.
VS LŚ ApŚ ŚG HG

samīcīnāsa āsate (SV *āśata*) RV SV.

abadhiṣma rakṣo 'badhiṣmāmum asau hatah (VSK *rakṣo 'muṣya tvā ba-
dhāyāmum abadhiṣma*) VS VSK ŚB KŚ   *avadhiṣma rakṣah* TS
MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ : *idam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe* VS. MS KS.
ŚB ApŚ MŚ

ye sarpāh   tebhya imam balim āhārṣam AG . *ye pārthivāh sarpās tebhya
imam balim harāmi* HG.

rūpam vo rūpenābhyemi (KS. *rūpenābhyāgām*) *vayasā vayah* MS. KS.
MŚ : *rūpena vo rūpam abhy āgām* (TS. ApŚ *aimi*) VS. VSK TS.
ŚB. ApŚ

sam ākūtīr (RVKh. erroneously, *ākūtīr*) *namāmasi* (MS. *anaṅsata*)
RVKh AV. MS.

pra vām ratho manojavā asarji (and, *ıyartı*) RV. (both)

samāvavartti (MS. MŚ. *samāvṛtat*) *pṛthivī* VS. MS. KS. TB KŚ. ApŚ.
MŚ

devā madhor vy aśnate (SV. *āśata*) RV. SV.

yasmād bhītā (and, *bhīto*) *nışīdası* MŚ.· *yasmād bhīṣā nışīdası* (TB ApŚ.
nyaṣadah, ŚŚ. *nyasadah*) AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. 'Thru fear of
which thou sinkest down (hast [just now] sunk down).'

Participles:

tṛpat (SV *tṛmpat*) *somam apıbad vışṇunā sutam yathāvaśat* (SV.†° *śam*)
RV AV. SV. TB.

§231. *Present and Perfect*

yasyām karmānı kurvate (ApŚ. *kṛnvate*) KS. ApŚ.: *yānı karmānı cakrıre*
AV.

na hı te nāma jagrāha AV.: *na hy asyā* (ApMB. *asyaı*) *nāma gṛbhnāmi*
RV ApMB.

catustriṅśat tantavo ye vı tatnire VS : *trayastrıṅśat tantavo yı tatnire*
(MS. *yam vıtanvate;* KS. AŚ. *yān vıtanvate*) TS MS. KS. AŚ ŚŚ

atra śravānsı dadhire RV.· *tatra śravānsı kṛnvate* SV.

purūvasur hı maghavan babhūvitha (RV. *sanād ası*) RV. SV.

caraty ananuvratā ApMB. HG.: *yac cacārānanuvratam* ApŚ.: *vicaranty
apatıvratā* ŚG. MDh. (Pres pple. in the last) The parallel verb
in the preceding pāda is perfect in all; ApŚ. assimilates the tense
in this pāda.

yasmāj jātā na parā naıva kım canāsa (VS. *jātam na purā kım canaiva*)
VS TA : *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*),*astı* JB ŚŚ · *yasmād
anyo na paro astı jātah* PB.: *yasmād anyan na param kıṁ canāstı*
Vait : *yasmān na jātah paro anyo astı* (NrpU. *'stı*) VS. TB. KŚ.
ApŚ MahānU. NrpU.: *yasmāt param nāparam astı kım cıt* TA.
MahānU. N.: *tasmād dhānyan na parah kım canāsa* RV. TB :
tasmād vaı nānyat param astı tejah AV.: *yasmān nānyat param astı
bhūtam* AV.

ād ıt pṛthivī ghṛtaır vy udyate TS · *ād ıd ghṛtena pṛthivī vy udyate* (AV.
pṛthıvīm vy ūduh) RV AV. MS. KS N.

ye pṛthivyās samājagmur ışam ūrjam vasānāh KS · *samāgachantīṣam
ūrjam vasānāh* (ApŚ. *duhānāh*) MS ApŚ.

agnım naras trışadhasthe sam īdhıre (SV. TS *ındhate*) RV. SV. TS KS.
agnım ındhe (RV *īdhe*) *nıvasvabhıh* RV SV
anu vām ekah pavır ā vavarta (TB °*tı*) RV MS TB.
nahı tad dṛśyate dıvā (ApŚ *tad dadṛśe dıvā*, HG *tad dıvā dadṛśe dıvah*)
    AV ApŚ HG
manye (KS *mene*) *bhejāno amṛtasya tarhı* AV TS MS KS
yac cham ca yoś ca manur āyeje (TS *āyaje*) *pıtā* RV TS KS   The TS
    reading ıs anomalous ın form and meaning, and ıs obvıously due to
    metrıcal consıderatıons (better cadence)
yadı vāham anṛtadeva āsa (AV °*devo asmı*) RV AV
prajāh pıparlı bahudhā (RV VS *pupoṣa purudhā*) *vı rājatı* RV SV ArS
    VS MS KS ApŚ
eṣu vānaspatyeṣu ye 'dhı tasthuh AV . *eṣu vṛkṣeṣu vānaspatyeṣv āsate*
    ApMB
pīyatı (MS KS *nındatı*) *tvo anu tvo gṛnātı* (MS *vavanda*) RV VS TS
    MS KS ŚB N
apām napātam parı tasthur (ArS⁻ °*tam upa yanty*) *āpah* RV ArS TS
    MS KS
sam tvā tatakṣuh (LŚ °*kṣnuh*) Vaıt LŚ KŚ   If *tatakṣnuh* ıs entıtled
    to standıng, ıt ıs a nonce blend of perfect and present (*takṣnuvantı*)
ındrasya tvā jathare sādayāmı (AŚ *dadhāmı*)   VSK KB GB AŚ ŚŚ
    LŚ. ApŚ Kauś *brahmaṇa ındrasya tvā jathare dadhuh* MŚ † See
    §315
dāsyann adāsyann uta sam gṛnāmı (TA *uta vā karıṣyan*, and so AVPpp ,
    Barret, *JAOS* 30 213) AV TA *adāsyann agna uta samgṛnāmı*
    AV *adıtsan vā samjagara janebhyah* TA *dhıpsyam vā samcakara*
    janebhyah MS *yad vādāsyan samjagārā janebhyah* TB

§232 *Present and other Partıcıples*

Sınce Renou has shown (121–38) that partıcıples ın the Veda often
appear to be ındependent of the fınıte stems wıth whıch they are for-
mally connected, we lıst the partıcıpıal varıants ın a separate lıst   The
fırst sıx varıants all occur ın the same context; soma ıs referred to
yamah sūyamānah VS   *yamo 'bhıṣutah* TS KS
rudra āhutah TS   *rudro hūyamānah* VS KS
pıtaro nārāśansāh sannah (VSK *sādyamānah*) VS VSK · *pıtṛnām nār-*
    āśansah TS
vıṣnuh śıpıvıṣta ūrāv (VSK † *ūrā*) *āsannah* VS † VSK · *śıpıvıṣta āsādıtah*
   . (KS † °*vıṣta ūrā āsādyamānah*) TS KS
asurah krīyamānah (KS *krītah*, VS *panyamānah*) VS TS KS

viśve devā anśuṣu nyupiaḥ (VSK *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS VSK.

uttiṣthans (ŚŚ *utthitas*) *tretā bhavati* AB ŚŚ.

jajñānah (SV. *janayan*) *sūryam apinvo arkaih* RV SV   See §238, end.

atirātram varṣan pūrtir āvṛt (MS *vavarṣvān pūrta rāvat*, KS. *vavṛṣvān pūta rāvat*) *svāhā* TS. MS KS.

tepāno (SV *tapāno*) *deva rakṣasah* RV. SV.

samākurvānah (TB. *samācakrānah*) *praruho ruhaś ca* AV TB

dhṛṣānam (AV. °*no*, read °*nam* acc to Whitney, AA. *dādhṛṣānam*)
dhṛṣitam (AV. °*tah*, Whitney em °*tam*) *savah* AV AA. ŚŚ †

harṣamānāso dhṛṣitā (TB °*atā*) *marutvah* RV TB N *dhṛṣatā* is an adverbial instr of the pres. act pple.

[*viśvasyām viśi praviviśivānsam* (KS. °*nviśānam*, quoted in Conc. as *praviśānam*) *īmahe* TS MS. KS. See §§69, 273]

§233. *Present and Pluperfect*

rudrān devān yajñenāpiprem ApŚ : *rudrān prīnāmi* Vait.

c. *Future and other Tenses*

§234. The future is rare in the Mantras, its place being taken by the moods, especially the subjunctive. Its own modal value comes to the fore notably in its interchanges with the moods (§177), and in the rare instances where it interchanges with preterite indicative forms, it is rather as a mood than as a tense (§134). For this reason the few scattering finite futures varying with preterite tenses are treated above Here are gathered, first, a couple of variants between present and future indicatives, and between present and future participles; and then a group of variations between future participles on the one hand and aorist and perfect participles on the other. Some of the future-aorist cases, concerning sigmatic forms on either side, have obvious phonetic bearings which have been dealt with in §§27f The present-future cases need no comment; since the present designates not a point of time but a quality of action, it is always ready for use as a future. See also §104, e

Below, in §248a, we shall find a few cases of verbal nouns in *tar* (nominative, *tā*) varying with finite verb-forms; attention may be called to them here, because they are forerunners of the later periphrastic future (Whitney §946).

(a) *Present and Future*

tebhya imam balim hariṣyāmi tebhya imam balim ahārṣam ApMB.:
tebhyo namo 'stu balim ebhyo harāmi PG.: *tebhyo balim puṣṭikāmo*

harāmi (AG dadāmi) TAA MahānŪ. AG. Cf balım ebhyo
harānīmam PG

agne vratapate vratam ālapsye (KS ālabhe) MS KS MŚ Cf. agne
vratapate vratam carışyāmı VS etc , see Conc

   (b) Partıcıples, Present and Future

agnım khananta (TS khanışyanta) upasthe asyāh VS. TS MS KS ŚB
bhūtam ası bhavad ası Kauś · bhūtam ası bhavışyad ası ŚŚ 8. 21. 3

   (c) Partıcıples, Aorıst and Future

ratho na vājam sanışyann (SV sanışann) ayāsīt RV. SV   See §28, and
Bloomfield, SBE 42 418

(net tvā   ) dadhŗg vıdhakşyan paryañkhayāte (AV vidhakşan parīñkha-
yātaı) RV. AV. · net tvā . dadhad vıdhakşyan paryañkhayātaı TA
See §27 The AV. readıng was probably vıdhakşyan

samhānāya svāhā VS. MS · samhāsyate svāhā TS KSA

   (d) Partıcıples, Perfect and Future

(suşvānāsa ındra stuması tvā) sasavāñsaś ca (SV. sanışyantaś cıt)
tuvınŗmna vājam RV. SV   'We praıse thee, O Indra, strong ın
manhood, after we have pressed (the soma) and after we have
gaıned (or, about to gain) booty.'

vājam ıvāgne jıgīvānsam sasanvānsam (and, jeşyantam sanişyantam)
sammārjmi Vait. (both)

CHAPTER V. THE SECONDARY CONJUGATIONS

§235 Of the conjugations included by Whitney under this heading, one, the Passive, has been treated above in the chapter on Voice, where it naturally belongs. Another, the Desiderative, is patently a mood in function, and appears in the Variants only in a very few cases where it interchanges with other moods, it has been treated in that connexion (§178). This leaves the Intensive, Causative, and Denominative. The interchanges concerning them are not numerous, nor, with one or two exceptions, do they mark any very important conditions or tendencies in the language of the mantras.

1. INTENSIVE

§236 As the intensive is a fairly frequent form in the Veda, the natural affinity between such ideas as 'lead forth': 'drag out', 'call': 'clamor', 'kill'. 'slaughter', etc , manifests itself in corresponding interchanges between intensive and primary verb   Occasionally the interchange is promoted by another, outside locution; thus in the example *tam sarasvantam avase huvema (havāmahe, johavīmi)*, we detect contamination with RV. 1. 34 12 *śṛnvantā vām avase johavīmi*, or RV. 3. 62, 2 *śaśvattamam avase johavīti.*—In two examples, the last of our list, the form of the intensive itself is varied.—Of course all intensive forms are reduplicated, most of the alternative forms in the list are not reduplicated, but in the first four they likewise show reduplication

pavamānasya jañghnatah (SV. PB. *jighnatah*) RV SV. PB.

indro vṛtrāni jighnate (ŚŚ. *jañghanat*) RV. AV. ŚŚ.   The ŚŚ passage is in a different context

aindrah prāno aṅge-aṅge nidīdhyat (TS *ni dedhyat;* VSK. *nidhītah*) VS   VSK TS MS KS. ŚB. See §248

sarasvatyā (AV °*tyām*) *adhi manāv* (KS *mānā,* v. 1 *manā;* AV. erroneously *manāv,* SMB. *vanāva,* corrected in Jörgensen to *manāv) acarkṛṣuh* (KS *acakṛ°,* v l. *acarkṛ°;* SMB *carkṛdhi,* but Jörgensen *acakṛṣuh)* AV KS TB. ApŚ MŚ SMB. PG. See §136. Jörgensen assumes that *acakṛṣuh* is a phonetic variant of *acark°,* by dissimilation, referring to Wackernagel I §234 b.

tam sarasvantam avase huvema (AV *havāmahe,* KS. *johavīmi)* RVKh.   AV. TS etc , see §78

ato no 'nyat pitaro mā yoṣṭa (HG *yūdhvam*) ApŚ. MŚ HG · *mā no 'to 'nyat pitaro yuñgdhvam* AŚ : *mā vo 'to 'nyat pʿ aro yoyuvata* Kauś

dakṣinam (and, *savyam*) *pādam avanenije* AB SMB. GG : *imau pādāv avaniktau* Kauś

upaveṣopaviddhi naḥ TB. ApŚ   cf. *veṣo 'sy upaveṣo 'viṣato grīvā upa veviddhi* VSK

yam tvām ayam (TS KS *tvāyam*) *svadhitis tejamānah* (TS KS *tetijānah,* MS. *tigmatejāh*) RV TS MS KS

yad rāto apo (MS MŚ *'po*) *aganīgan* (TS KSA ApŚ *agamat*) VS TS. MS KSA ApŚ MŚ

ava devānām yaja hedo agne AV.: *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *ikṣia*) KS ApŚ.   Both *iyakṣva* and *ikṣva* are problematic, see §193.

pra bādhamānā (RV. and p.p of MS *prabābadhānā*) *rathyeva yāti* RV MS.

Variant forms of Intensive

ni galgalīti dhārakā VS ŚB.: *ni jalgulīti* (KSA † ed. *jalgalīti* by em , ms *jalgalūti*) *dhānikā* TS. KSA   Cf Whitney, *Grammar* 1002d; *galgalīti* is irregularly reduplicated

kanīkhunad iva sāpayan TB.: *canīkhudad yathāsapam* AŚ.   Unintelligible stuff.

2 CAUSATIVE

§237. The interchanges of the causative are grouped under four heads.

a Perhaps the most frequent and typical are those in which a neuter verb with subject expressed or implied is transposed to causative verb with another subject. The nominative subject of the first form then becomes accusative object in the second form   Thus in one and the same text (AV.), *redir bhūmir akalpata,* 'the earth shaped itself into a vedi': *vedim bhūmim kalpayitvā,* 'he having shaped the earth into a vedi.' Or, in different texts, *apām sadhiṣi sīda* TS : *apām tvā sadhiṣi* (MS † *sadhriṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS. KS ŚB.

b. In a few cases, not all of them clear in their bearings, the causative still has causative meaning, being thus distinguished from the primary verb; but the subject and object remain the same, so that there is a more or less definite variation in the sense of the passage.

c. In a considerable number of cases, perhaps nearly as many as in the first group, causative and primary appear indifferently with the same meaning, these are, in other words, early examples of the fading out of the distinctive causative meaning of verb-forms in *aya*, which in

the later language becomes so noticeable, and which led in the Pāli-Prakrit languages to the vast extension of the *-paya-* type, as a more clear and unmistakable causative formation

d Different forms of the causative

a *Causatives and primary verbs with transfusion of construction, resulting in equivalence of meaning in both clauses*

§238 There may be discovered in some of these cases a flavor of greater assurance or certainty in the causative form of expression, which would possibly bring these variants into the general sphere of modal variations   Nevertheless it seems to us that in general they are hardly more than mechanical equivalents   Besides the two cases mentioned above, we find

viśvāsu tvā dikṣu sādayāmi KS. ApŚ . *viśvāsu dikṣu sīda* MS ApŚ. MŚ

arnave tvā sadane sādayāmi VS MS KS ŚB   *arnave sadane sīda* TS   ApŚ

sarīre (MS *sahle*) *tvā sadane sādayāmi* VS MS KS ŚB · *sahle sadane sīda* TS

samudre tvā sadane sādayāmi VS MS KS ŚB.: *samudre sadane sīda* TS

apām tvā kṣaye sādayāmi VS MS KS ŚB. *apām kṣaye sīda* TS.

apām tvā gahman sādayāmi samudrasyodmann avataś chāyāyām MS   MŚ . *apām tvodman sādayāmi* VS TS MS KS ŚB   *apām gambhan sīda* VS ŚB

pṛthivyā mūrdhan sīda yajñiye loke KS   *pṛthivyās tvā mūrdhan sādayāmi yajñiye loke* ApŚ.

un nambhaya pṛthivīm TS MS KS ApŚ 'split open the earth': *pra nabhasva pṛthivi* AV. 'burst open, O earth!' AVPpp agrees with the others

evam aham āyuṣā medhayā varcasā   samedhiṣīya SMB   *evam mām āyuṣā   samedhaya* ApMB HG   Cf *brahmavarcasenānnādyena samedhaya* AG HG   'May I prosper (make me to prosper) with life' etc

brahmavarcasam māgamyāt TS 'let holy splendor come to me' *brahmavarcasam mā gamayet* Vait 'let him make holy splendor come to me '

apa cakrā avṛtsata KB ŚŚ . *mā cakrā āvṛtsata* MS †. *apa cakrāṇi vartaya* TB ApŚ

dṛṃhantām daivīr viṣah kalpantām manuṣyāh KS †: *kalpayatam daivīr viṣah kalpayatam mānuṣīh* TB ApŚ.

ṛṣayah (sc. *tṛpyantu*) AG. ŚG : (*om*) *ṛṣīns tarpayāmi* BDh   Also with *nakṣatrāṇi*, etc.

agnıs tṛpyatu ŚG . (*om*) *agnim tarpayāmi* BDh

brahmā (sc *tṛpyatu*) AG. ŚG : (*om*) *brahmānam tarpayāmı* BDh   Also
with *prajāpatıh, vıṣnuh, vāyuh,* etc

samjīvā (ApŚ AŚ * °*vıkā*) *nāma stha tā ımam* (AŚ *ımam amum*) *samjīva-
yata* MS AŚ. (bis) ApŚ   *samjīvā stha samjīvyāsam* AV.

uttamam nākam (VS MS KS ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhı rohayemam* (VS
MS KS ŚB *rohayaınam,* TA *rohemam*) AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB
TA   The TA version may be rendered at a pınch, 'ascend thou
this highest heaven'   But the meter, and text-chronology, show
that ıt is really a corruptıon, phonetıc ın character (*aya, aye e*)

jaṛñānah (SV *janayan*) *sūryam apınvo arkaıh* RV SV   'Born, thou
dıdst swell the sun (begettıng the sun, thou dıdst swell hım) wıth
lıght'

We may add one sımılar case ın whıch the reduplıcated (causatıve)
aorıst fıgures, cf. §201:

ganān me mā vı tītṛṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*) TS MŚ 'do not make my troops go
thırsty': *ganā me mā vı tṛṣan* VS TS ŚB 'may my troops not go
thırsty'

§239 b *Causatıve and prımary verbs wıth correspondıng change of
meanıng*

te arṣantu te varṣantu te kṛnvantu LŚ 'they (waters) shall flow, shall raın,
shall perform': *te varṣantı te varṣayantı* AV. 'they raın, they cause
to raın'.

mandūkyā su samgamah (TA *gamaya*) RV † TA . *maṇḍūky apsu śam
bhuvah* AV 'Unıte (thyself, or, unıte ıt, sc the omınous funeral
-fire) wıth the female frog'   Addressed to the water-plant (or
plants) whıch are spoken of in the precedıng pādas   The AV has
a mere corruptıon   TA comm reads *mandūkyāsu* (=*mandūka-
plavanayogyāsv apsu'*) *samgamaya* (= *ımam pretadeham prāpaya,*
whıch is unıntellıgent)

(*vı na ındra mṛdho jahı*) *kanīkhunad iva sāpayan* (AŚ *canīkhudad yath-
āsapam*) TB AŚ   Dubıous, TB comm connects *lanīkhunad* wıth
khan, cf Whıtney, *Roots,* s v. *khud*

àśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ. *abadhnata*) ŚB ŚŚ   See §30
    Partıcıples

vıṣnuh śıpıvıṣta ūrāv (VSK *ūrā*) *āsannah* VS VSK · *śıpıvıṣta āsādıtah*
(KS °*vıṣṭa ūrā āsādyamānah*) TS KS   Both forms may be ren-
dered by the Englısh 'seated', yet the sense ıs not quıte the same,
sınce *sannah* ıs neuter (ıntransıtıve), 'havıng taken hıs seat', whıle
the other forms mean 'havıng been (or beıng) seated, gıven a seat'

rucito gharmaḥ MS. KB. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ.: *rocito gharmo rucīya* TA.

deva gharma rucitas tvaṁ deveṣv ā MS.: *rocitas tvaṁ deva gharma deveṣv asi* TA

c. *Causative and primary verbs, both in the same sense*

§240 The line between this and the last group is not always easy to draw, but in most of the following instances, at any rate, there seems to be no real difference in meaning between the causative verb-form and the non-causative, while in the preceding we seem to find at least a shade of difference The meaning is, of course, always transitive, unless middle, and generally the primary verb is capable of an intransitive meaning too, which may often be suspected of being the older. Hence it is sometimes doubtful whether we should speak of 'causative in primary sense' or of 'primary in causative sense'. In the RV itself we find such pairs as ·

mādayasva (and, *mandasvā su*) *svarṇare*, 'enjoy thyself at Svarnara('s sacrifice)', or,

mitro janān yātayati bruvānah, 3 59. 1, and *janam ca mitro yatati bruvānah*, 7 36 2· 'calling himself Mitra, he orders (sets in order) the folk' (somewhat differently Geldner, *Ved St* 3. 15ff). To find a difference in these cases would seem to us like hearing the grass grow. And, if possible even more surely, there cannot be the slightest difference in the following

ud vandanam airayatam svar dṛśe 1. 112 5, *ud vandanam airatam dansanābhih* 1. 118 6, 'ye (Aśvins) brought forth Vandana' etc

In the Vālakhilya passages *yam te svadhāvan svadayanti dhenavah*, and, *yam te svadāvan svadanti gūrtayah*, the form *svadayanti* may not be causative, see §194.

§241 In the following list the approximation of the causative stem *janaya* to its primary correspondent is worthy of note. In the RV. already it is practically impossible to differentiate these two forms in the active, as in 3 31 15, *indro   ajanad...sūryam:* 9. 110 3, *ajījano hi pavamāna sūryam·*

tāsām svasṝr ajanayat (MS *svar ajanan,* KS † *svasṝr* [ms *svasūr*] *ajanan*) *pañca-pañca* TS MS. KS. The TS is poor metrically.

madhu janiṣye (AV. *janiṣīya*) AV TS TA ŚŚ. 'I shall (may I) generate honey'. *madhu kariṣyāmi madhu janayiṣyāmi madhu bhaviṣyati* JB

āpo asmān (MS *mā*) *mātarah śundhayantu* (AV MS KS *sūdayantu;* TS. ApŚ *śundhantu*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS. ŚB AŚ. ApŚ.

arejetām (TB *arcjayatām) rodasī pūjasā gırā* RV TB   The meter shows
that TB has a mere blunder, phonetic in character (hyper-Sanskritic
aya for *e*, as a reaction against dialectic *e* for *aya*, our Phonetic Vari-
ants will show a considerable number of analogous cases)   It is
more or less the reverse of what has happened in the variant *utta-
mam nākam* etc , §238

ūrdhvām enām (VS ŚB LŚ - also, *ūrdhvam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (VS
ŚB. also, *uc chrāpaya*, MS *uñ chrāpaya*) VS TS MS KSA ŚB
TB AŚ ŚŚ. Vait LŚ ApŚ   Both forms (in adjoining verses in
VS etc) mean simply 'lift her (him) up '.

uttame nāka ıha mādayantām (MŚ *°yadhvam*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ ·
nākasya prṣṭhe sam ıṣā madema AV.

nādhṛṣa ā dadhṛṣate (AA *dadharṣa*, ŚŚ *dadharṣayā*) AV AA ŚŚ   See
§140

ud dharṣantām maghavan vājınām AV . *ud dharṣaya maghavann* (AV
satvanām) āyudhānı RV. AV. SV. VS TS   See §30   This variant
properly belongs here since the difference in meaning between the
verbs is obviously due to the difference of voice, not to that be-
tween causative and primary

prānam me tarpayata (ŚŚ *tṛmpa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ

satyena tvābhighārayāmi (AŚ *°bhıjıgharmī*) TS MS AŚ MŚ. 'I sprin-
kle thee with truth ' Cf *satyābhıghṛtam* (KS *°tam asi*) *satyena
tvābhıghārayāmı* MS KS

athaıte dhıṣnyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpantām ıhaıva HG . *atho
yatheme dhıṣnyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām ıhaıva* MG .
ıme ye dhıṣnyāso agnayo yathāsthānam ıha kalpatām (read *°ntām*)
AG : *punar agnayo dhıṣnyā* (ŚŚ *°yāso) yathāsthānam kalpantām*
(AV *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ıhaıva*, ŚŚ *yathāsthānam dhārayan-
tām ıhaıva*) AV. ŚB BrhU. ŚŚ   Cf *yathāsthānam kalpayadhvam*
ApŚ

sūcībhıh śamyantu (TS KSA *śımyartu;* MS *śamayantu*) *tvā* VS TS
MS KSA

The meanings of the verbs are not quite clear, but both *śamyantu* and
śamayantu seem to be euphemistic expressions for 'kill'. For *śımyantu*
see Keith on TS. 5 2 11 1.

vaiśvānarah pavitā mā punātu AV   'Vaiśvānara the purifier shall purify
me': *vātśvānarah pavayān nah pavıtraıh* TA   'Vaiśvānara shall
purify us with purifiers '

[*nama uccairghoṣāyākrandayate* VS TS   *nama ākrandayata uccaır
ghoṣāya* MS KS †   The Conc quotes *ākrandata* for KS]

d *Different forms of the Causative*

§242. In a few cases the grade of the root varies between the guna
and vṛddhi stages (Whitney, *Grammar* 1042e, g); and in one the stems
sūdaya and *svadaya* interchange, but the 'causative' value is here some-
what dubious

yavayārātīh VS TS ŚB   *yavayārātim* (KS and MS p p *yāv°*) MS
KS Kauś

yāvayāsmad dveṣam KS   *yavayāsmad dveṣah* TS. VS ŚB Kauś
yavaya (v 1 *yā°*) *dveṣo asmat* MS   *yavayāsmad cghā dveṣānsi* TS

vasoṣpate ni ramaya (N and 2 mss of AV. *rām°*) AV N   *vasupate vi
ramaya* MS.

agnir havyam (RV. KS *havih*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV
VS TS. MS KS   The AV reading is metrically poor

[*tatra havyāni gāmaya* (KS Conc *gamaya*, but von Schroeder reads
gām° with one of three mss) RV KS TB ApŚ MŚ]

3. DENOMINATIVE

§243 The variants under this head are few. Most of them concern
different vocalism before the denominative sign *ya*: *a*-stems appearing
with *a* or *ā* (Whitney §1059 a, b), and variations between *i* and *ī*, zero
and *ī*, in this position These changes were possibly rhythmic in ori-
gin, compare §§259ff. below, and see our volume on Phonetics, which
will deal more systematically with such cases

devān devayate (TB ApŚ MŚ *devā°*) *yaja* (MŚ *yajamānāya svāhā*) RV
SV. KS TB. ApŚ MŚ.

agne prehi prathamo devayatām (AV. *devatānām;* MS KS. *devāyatām*)
AV. VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB

apānudo janam amitrayantam (AV. *amitrā°*) RV AV TS KS

janiyanti nāv agravah AV.. *janiyanto nv agravah* RV SV. AŚ ŚŚ

putrīyantah (AV *putriyanti*) *sudānavah* RV. AV SV. In the same
stanza as the prec , the *ī* (*i*), in place of stem-final *a* (*putra*), is prob-
ably suggested by the *ī* (*i*) of *janīya-* (stem *jani, janī*), cf however
Whitney §1059d

devā devebhyo (MS *deveṣv*) *adhvaryanto* (KS *adhvarīyanto*) *asthuh* VS
TS. MS KS ŚB

apo vṛnānah pavate kavīyan (TS *kavyan*) RV. SV. TS. KSA.

The remaining variants are unclassifiable In the next following,
both *a*- and *aya*-stems are best regarded as denominatives (·*dīkṣā*)—
agnir dīkṣitah pṛthivī dīkṣā sā mā dīkṣā dīkṣayatu (JB. *dīkṣeta*) JB.
ApŚ. And others, see §§79, 160

In a single case a sigmatic aorist from a denominative interchanges
with a problematic reduplicated aorist made from a primary root:
amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś. °*gam yathālokam*) *āvṛṣāyiṣata*
(AŚ °*yiṣata;* ŚŚ *avīvṛṣata*) VS. VSK. ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ Kauś SMB.
GG. KhG.   See §§201, 285.

The stem *hṛnīya,* in *vājebhir mā hṛnīyathāh* SV.: *mā hṛnīthā abhy
asmān* RV., is considered a denominative by some authorities; but see
§195.

CHAPTER VI. INTERCHANGE BETWEEN FINITE VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS

(In a broad sense, including participles, gerunds, etc.)

§244 We have previously dealt, as part of the chapter on modal variations, with a number of instances in which a perfect passive participle with or without copula interchanges with a modal form (§§143f). Those cases are to be regarded as part of this chapter also. Additional interchange between finite verbs and verbal nouns is found on a considerable scale, and is here treated under three aspects. First, a finite form interchanges with a verbal noun without copula, most commonly a past participle, which performs the same function as a finite verb. Second, the finite form exchanges with a periphrastic combination of verbal noun plus copula or similar verbal form. Thirdly, in a combination of two coordinate finite verb forms, one exchanges with an attributive verbal noun which leans on the other verb in syntactic dependence.

1 *Interchange between predicative finite verbs and independent predicative verbal nouns without copula*

§245. Such cases are quite numerous The older grammar was in the habit of defining this type of verbal noun as the elliptic residue of a combination of verbal noun and copula, the copula being 'understood' or 'supplied'. These correspondences support the now generally accepted theory that the verbal nouns in question perform rather the function of predicate verbs, directly and of themselves. They are far more frequent than the cases in which the copula is expressed (see 2, below), the copula is quite superfluous and originally was, no doubt, expressed only for emphasis or for some special reason. A good example of the perfect equivalence of such finite verbs and verbal nouns, without copula, is seen in the opening pādas of RV. 10. 17. 12 and 13 respectively: *yas te drapsa skandati yas te anśuh*, and *yas te drapsa skanno yas te anśuh.*

§246. In many of these cases the finite verb is active, the participle passive. These belong not only in this group, but also in the larger class of Active and Passive; see §§80ff. We begin with them: *yuktās tisro vimṛjah sūryasya* PB . *yunajmi tisro vipṛcah sūryasya te* (MŚ. *tisro vivṛtah sūryah sara [iti]*) TS. ApŚ MŚ.

yukto vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha PB . *yunajmi vāyum antarikṣena te* (MŚ *tena) saha* TS ApŚ MŚ

manyunā kṛtam BDh   *manyur akārṣīt* TAA MahānU. ApDh

śirasā dhārayiṣyāmi (MahānU. *dhāritā devi)* TA. MahānU

caritrāns te śundhāmi VS ŚB . *śuddhāś caritrāḥ* TS ApŚ

stomasya dhāman nihitam (KS *nyadhām) puriṣyam* MŚ KS

āpāma manasā VS ŚB KŚ (VS. comm *prāptavantah)· āptam manah* TS MS KS TB ApŚ. MŚ

upasṛjāmi ApŚ MŚ   *upasṛṣṭah* ŚB

yasmin devā adhi viśve niṣeduh (Mbh *viṣaktāh)* RV AV TB TA Mahān U Śvet U Nṛp U. N Mbh (ed Sukthankar, 1 3 65c).

hato me pāpmā AG MG . *pāpmā me hatah* AG   *pāpmānam te 'pahanmah* KŚ : *pāpmānam me hata* (Kauś *'pa jahi)* MG. Kauś   And others, see Conc. under *pāpmānam me*

āhatam (VS. ŚB *āhanti) gabhe pasah* VS TS KSA ŚB TB. *āhatam paso nicalcalīti* MS

hatas te atrinā krimih (GG *kṛ°)* SMB. GG KhG · *atrinā tvā krime hanmi* TA. ApŚ · *atrivad vah krimayo hanmi* AV 'Slain is thy worm by Atri', or, 'I slay thee (you), O worm(s), by (like) Atri '

athaiṣām bhinnakah kumbhah SMB 'then their receptacle has been miserably smashed' (imprecatory, or perhaps contemptuous, diminutive) *bhinadmi te kuṣumbham* AV (for which Ppp has, *atho bhinadmi tam kumbham)*

ghanena hanmi vṛścikam RVKh AV. *hatam vṛścika te viṣam* Mahābh *apiśīrnā u pṛṣṭayah* and, *pṛṣṭūr api śṛnīmasi* AV (both)

mithunam karnayoh kṛdhi (SMB *kṛtam)* AV SMB 'Mark the pair (of calves; or, the pair is marked) on the ears '

śraddhāyām prāne niviśyāmṛtam hutam (TAA *niviṣṭo 'mṛtam juhomi)* TA TAA MahānU BDh VHDh   *amṛtam ca prāne juhomi* Prānāg U.   Also with *apāne, udāne, vyāne, samāne,* and the same without out the word *śraddhāyām,* see Conc

[*yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS *bibhrato) jātavedāh* AV KS · *yatra-yatra jātavedah sambabhūtha* (TB Bibl Ind ed °*va,* Poona ed correctly °*tha)* TB ApŚ   But both AV. (most mss *bibhṛto* or *bibhrato)* and KS (v 1 *bibhṛto)* are very obscure, it is questionable whether the variant belongs here]

§247. In a smaller group the finite verb is middle (reflexive) with active value   Again the interchange is in effect the same as between active and passive, to be regarded in connexion with those treated in §80ff

teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam RVKh   *yeṣām apsu sadas* (TS ApMB *sadah*)
kṛtam VS TS ŚB NīlarU ApMB   *ye apsu ṣadānsı* (KS *'psu
sadānsı*) *cakrıre* MS KS   'Their (whose) seat was made ın the
waters' 'who made theır (own) seats ın the waters '

tvam yajñeṣv īdyah RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB : *tvām yajñeṣv īdate*
RV

antar dadhe parvataıh HG ApMB   'I ınterpose wıth the mountaıns'
antarhıtā gırayah ŚG. 'the mountaıns have been ınterposed.'

antar dadha ṛtubhıh HG ApMB . *antarhıtā ma ṛtavah* ŚG. As prec
rocate VADh   *rocıtam* MDh

dakṣınam (and, *savyam*) *pādam avaneñje* AB SMB GG KhG. 'I scrub
the rıght (left) foot' *ımau pādāv avanıktau* Kauś (ın dıfferent
connectıon), 'these two feet have been washed.'

§248 In the majorıty of cases, however, the verbal remaıns upon the
same plane wıth the fınıte verb, whether actıve or mıddle, that ıs, both
predıcates, whatever theır forms, express the predıcatıve ıdea in the
same voıce   The dıfference between thıs and the class just lısted wıll
be made clear by contrastıng the varıant *teṣām apsu sadas kṛtam*, etc ,
above, ın whıch the mıddle wıth actıve meanıng exchanges wıth a passıve
partıcıple, wıth the followıng

nānā hı vām devahıtam sadas (TB ApŚ. *sadah*) *kṛtam* (TB * ApŚ.* *sado
mıtam*) VS MS KS AB ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ   *nānā hı devaıś cakṛpe
sado vām* KS.   Here *cakṛpe* (see Bloomfield, *Johns Hopkıns Cırcu-
lars*, December 1906, p 10) ıs passıve ın force, lıke *kṛtam* 'varı-
ously by the gods a seat has been made for you '

pūrvo ha (TA MahānU *hı*) *jātah* (JUB *jajñe*) *sa u garbhe antah* VS.
TA ŚvetU   MahānU ŚırasU JUB   *prathamo jātah* etc. AV :
'he was the fırst born (of old), and he is yet wıthın the womb '

yo agnır agner adhyajāyata (TS MS KS. *agnes tapaso 'dhı jātah*) VS.
TS MS KS ŚB

yas ta ātmā paśuṣu pravıṣtah TB ApŚ MŚ. *yas te prānah paśuṣu pra-
vıṣtah* KŚ VSK . *yā te tanūh pıtṛṣv āvıveśa* AV. Here the par-
tıcıple, tho passıve ın form, ıs actıve ın meanıng, sınce the verb is
ıntransıtıve

ya āvıṣto vayassu yo mṛgeṣu AV   *vayānsı ya āvıveśa yo mṛgeṣu* MS KS.
ApŚ

dīkṣıto 'yam asā āmuṣyāyanah MS MŚ   *dīkṣıto 'yam brāhmanah* ŚB.:
adīkṣıṣtāyam brāhmanah TS ApŚ

aındra udāno añge-añge nıdhītah (VSK *nıdīdhe*) VS VSK ŚB : *aındro
'pāno* (and, *vyāno*) *añge-añge vıbobhuvat* (MS † *nı bo*°, KS *nıdīdhyat*)

.

TS MS. KS. This and the following item are full of morphological
and etymological problems. Perhaps render. 'Udāna (etc) from
Indra has been sucked (?) into every limb.'. On the active *nidīdhyat*
cf. the next.

aindrah prāno aṅge-aṅge nidīdhyat (TS. *ni dedhyat*, VSK. *nıdhītaḥ*) VS
VSK. TS. MS. KS ŚB. Cf. prec. The active is anomalous;
Mahīdhara, *nihıtah*; Keith, 'may...be set'. It seems that it can-
not be transitive.

yatrā (MS **yatra*) *naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ paretāḥ* (RV. MS.* *pareyuh*) RV.
AV. MS. (both): *yenā te pūrve pitarah paretāḥ* AV.

yasmād bhīṣā saṁjñaptāḥ (ApŚ. *samajñāsthāh*) ŚŚ ApŚ. 'from fear of
which thou (the animal victim) hast been slain (from that make us
exempt).'

tan me 'rādhi (Kauś. *rāddham*) VS. TS. TA. Kauś · *tenārātsyam* (ŚŚ
MŚ. GG. v. 1 *°rātsam*, the correct reading) MS. ŚŚ. MŚ GG. See
§§28, 85. As to the latter form, this item belongs under the first
group above   -

oṁ svadhocyatām AG.: *astu svadheti vaktavyam* Vait : *prakṛtebhyah
svadhocyatām* YDh.

ṛtubhih prabhuh (KS. *prābhavat*) TS. KS.

saṁvatsarena paribhūh (KS *paryabhavat*) TS KS.

somāya vaca udyatam (SV. *ucyate*) RV. SV.

bāhū rājanyah kṛtaḥ (AV. *°nyo 'bhavat*) RV. AV. VS TA VāDh.

tapasā ye svar yayuḥ (TA. *suıar gatāh*) RV. AV. TA

amṛtatvāya ghoṣayah (SV. *°yan*) RV. SV. The subject is soma; there is
no finite verb in the passage with the SV. reading (nom. sg act.
pple). Cf. next.

bradhnah samīcīr uṣasah ıam airayat (AV. *°yan*) AV. SV. ApŚ MŚ.
With the AV. reading there is no finite verb in the passage, and Whit-
ney reads *airayat* with the rest; but cf. prec

vācaspate 'chıdrayā vācāchıdrayā juhıā dıvı devāvṛdham hotrām aırayat
(KŚ *°yant;* TA. *erayasva,* ŚŚ. *aırayasva*) *svāhā* (ŚŚ omits) ŚB.
TA. ŚŚ KŚ.

vavakṣa (3 sg. perf. mid) *ṛṣvo astṛtah* RV AV.: *vavakṣur* (adj , desidera-
tive) *ugro astṛtah* TB. ApŚ

vaśāyā dugdham apiban, and (next vs) *va° dugdham pītvā,* AV.

patnī yīyapsyate (ŚŚ. *yīyapsyamānā*) *jaritah* AŚ ŚŚ

varebhir varān abhi ṣu prı. sīdatah (ApMB. *°ta*) RV. ApMB. In RV. a
gen sg. pple , agreeing with Indra; *varebhir* applies to the Maruts,
is *sīdata* of ApMB addressed to them?

[*sam agnis tapasāgata* VS. MS. ŚB.: *svāhā sam agnis tapasā gata* TA. 4
7. 2 and 5. 6 6. So Poona ed. in both places. Conc. with Bibl
Ind ed. quotes *gatah* for 4. 7. 2, this is read by one ms and comm
in Poona ed]

Anticipations of the Periphrastic Future in -tā

§248a We group separately a few variants in which the verbal noun
which varies with a finite verb is the nominative of a *nomen agentis* in
-tar. These forms are, of course, interesting as precursors of the later
periphrastic future; cf. Whitney §946 They are found varying with
the present indicative, imperative (including that in *tāt*), optative, and
injunctive (? subjunctive); the copula is not used with them.

yo dāśuṣah sukṛto havam eti (TS. MS. KS *havam upa gantā*) AV. TS.
MS KS.

somah punānah kalaśeṣu sīdati (and, *sattā*) RV. (both)

yantā no avṛkaṁ chardih; pra no yachatād (*prāsmai yachatam*) *avṛkam
pṛthu chardih* RV. (all)

gamat sa (*gamema, sa gantā*) *gomati vraje* RV. (all). On *gamat*, com-
monly regarded as subj but taken by us as *a*-aor. injunctive because
of *gamema*, see §174

2 Interchange between finite form and periphrasis of verbal noun and copulaic verb

§249. We have drawn attention above to the rarity of this construc-
tion compared with the use of the verbal noun without copula as predi-
cate. In the first two of the following brief list we have variation be-
tween active and passive constructions, as in §246 above:

ahnā yad enah kṛtam asti'kim cit (ŚŚ *enaś cakṛmeha kim cit,* ApŚ MŚ.
ApMB *asti pāpam*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ. ApMB.

ayam vai tvām ajanayad ayam tvad adhijāyatām̐ asau svāhā ŚŚ : *asmāt
tvam adhi jāto 'si tvad ayam jāyatām punah* VS. ŚB TA KŚ Kar-
map *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā ayaṁ tvad adhi jāyatām asau* (AG.
asau svargāya lokāya) *svāhā* AG. Kauś *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā eṣa
tvaj jāyatām* JB

kim it te viṣno paricakṣyam bhūt (SV. *paricakṣi nāma*) RV. SV TS MS. N.
devo devebhyah pavasva VS. ŚB.: *devo devānām pavitram asi* TS MS. KS.
viśvā rūpāni pari tā babhūva (AV *paribhūr jajāna*) AV. VS ŚB.
tayāham vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānaś ca ApMB.. *vardhiṣīmahi
ca vayam ā ca pyāsiṣīmahi* (MS MŚ *pyāyiṣīmahi*) VS MS. ŚB
TA. ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG HG.

vājıno vājajıto 'dhvana skabhnuvanto yojanā mimānāh kāṣṭhām gachata VS ŚB.: *adhvānam skabhnuvanto yojanā mımānāh kāṣṭhām gachata* MS.: *vı yojanā mımūdhvam adhvana skabhnīta kāṣṭhām gachata* TS Here two partıciples, dependent on a followıng finıte verb, vary wıth two finıte verbs correlatıve wıth the latter.

ghnanto (MS ApŚ *ghnatā*) *vṛtrāny apratı* AV. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. The interchangıng forms are preceded by finıte verbs.

[*ındra ıva vṛtrahā tıṣtha* (MS *dasyuhā bhava*),] *apah kṣetrāni samjayan* (MS °*ya*) MS. TB ApŚ.

āyur dadhad yajñapatāv (MS. KS °*tā*) *avıhrutam* RV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS LŚ ApŚ.: *āyur yajñapatāv adhāt* (JB. *ayām*) AB JB ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ. Each ıs the 2d pāda of ıts stanza, but the two stanzas are otherwise wholly dıfferent. However, each has a parallel finıte verb ın pāda a, on which the pple *dadhat* depends

parı dyāvāpṛthıvī sadya āyam (VS. *ıtvā*) AV VS Followed by (different) finıte verbs.

tam tvābhıh suṣtutıbhır vājayanta, ājım na jagmur gırvāho aśvāh RV. · *tam tvā gırah suṣtutayo vājayanty, ājım na gırvavāho jıgyur aśvāh* SV.

anavahāyāsmān (KS adds *devi dakṣine*) *devayānena pathā* (TS. *patheta,* KS. *pathā yatī*) *sukṛtām loke sīdata* (KS. *sīda*) TS MS KS.

varṣman kṣatrasya (AV. *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakubhı* (TB Poona ed also °*bhi,* but comm. and Bıbl. Ind ed. °*bhıḥ*; comm gloss *uttamāṅge;* MS *kakubbhıḥ*; AV *kakudı*) *śıśrıyāṇah* (AV. TB. *śrayasva*) AV. TS MS. TB Followed in all by *tato na ugro vı bhajā vasūni.*

viśvāvasur abhı tan no gṛnātu, dıvyo gandharvo rajaso vımānah, yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na vıdma, dhıyo hınvāno dhıya ın no avyāh RV TA.: *vīrebhır adhı tan no gṛnāno, rajaso vımāno, yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na vidma, dhıya ınvāno dhiya ın no avyāt* MS. (apparently defectıve and corrupt)

[*upa no mıtrāvarunāv ıhāvatam* (MS *utā no mıtrāvarunā ıhāgatam*)] *anvādīdhyāthām ıha* (MS *manmā dīdhyānā utā*) *nah sakhāyā* MS. TB. TA.

dāsyann adāsyann uta samgṛnāmı (TA. *uta vī karıṣyan*) AV. TA : *dhipsyam vā samcakara janebhyah* MS : *yad vādāsyan samjagārā janebhyah* TB Ppp also reads *vā karıṣyan for samgṛnāmı* of AV. 6 71. 3 For others, see §231.

uṣasah śreyasīh-śreyasīr dadhat (so read with Poona ed of TB). TB. ApŚ.: *uṣām-uṣām śreyasīm dhehy asmai* AV. Joıned ın TB ApŚ to what in AV. ıs the next verse, endıng: *rāyaspoṣam ıṣam ūrjam asmāsu dhehi* TB. ApŚ , *aıṣām ūrjam rayım āsmāsu dhehı* AV.

tırah purū cıd arnavam jaganvān (SV. *°vāṅ jagamyāh*) RV. AV SV
Preceded ın RV AV by *vavṛtyām* (SV. *vavṛtyuh*).

[*ıyartı dhūmam aruṣam* (MS KS *°ṣo*) *bharıbhrad*] *uc chukrena śocıṣā
dyām ınakṣan* (TS ApMB. *°kṣat*) RV. VS TS KS MS ApMB.
See Oldenberg, *Proleg* 299.

upasṛjan (AŚ *°jam*; ŚG *upa sṛjam*) *dharunam mātre* (AB AŚ omıt
mātre) *dharuno mātaram* (AB AŚ LŚ MŚ *mātaram dharuno*;
ApŚ *mātarā dharuno*) *dhayan* (followed by, *rāyas poṣam   asmāsu
dīdharat*) VS AB ŚB JB AŚ LŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG   But the read-
ıŋg *-sṛjam* ıs doubtful, perhaps *-sṛjan* ıs to be read everywhere
'Loosıng (I have loosed) the sucklıng (to hıs dam), the sucklıng as he
mılks hıs dam—may he maıntaın growth of wealth among us '

[*ṛdhad yas te sudānave*] *dhıyā martah śaśamate*, [*ūtī ṣa bṛhato dıvo, dvıṣo
aṅho na taratı*] RV 'der mann gedeıhet welcher dır dem reıchen
dıenet andachtsvoll, er durch des grossen hımmels schutz durch-
setzt den feınd wıe eıne schlucht' (Grassmann). [*sa ghā yas te dıvo
naro*] *dhıyā martasya śamatah*, [*ūtī sa bṛhato dıvo, dvıṣo anho na
taratı*] SV (very corrupt, hardly deserves cıtatıon under thıs rub-
rıc, *śamatah* gen sg pple wıth *martasya*)

sahasrapoṣam puṣyantī paramena paśunā krīyasva (KS *krīyase*) MS
KS   *paramena paśunā krīyase sahasrapoṣam puṣeyam* VS ŚB .
tasyās te sahasrapoṣam puṣyantyāś caramena paśunā krīnāmı TS

saha jarāyunāva sarpatu (ApMB *°yunā nıṣkramya*) HG ApMB   Prec.
by *ejatu* ın both   For other forms of the varıant see §329

[*hınvāno vācam ıṣyası, pavamāna vıdharmanı*] *akrān devo na sūryah* RV .
[*jajñāno vācam ıṣyası, pavamāna vıdharmanı*] *krandam devo na sūr-
yah* SV

tā devīr devatremam yajñam nayata (KS *kṛtvā*, TS MS *dhatta*), followed
by *upahūtāh somasya pıbata*, VS TS MS KS ŚB

dīrgham āyur yajamānāya kṛnvan (MŚ *vında*) TB ApŚ MŚ , followed
    ın TB ApŚ by *aṅgdhı*, ın MŚ by *āsīdasva*

te (masc plur.) *no nakṣatre havam āgamıṣṭhāh* ('most comıng', followed
by *juṣantām*) TB 3 1 1 6c *te* (fem dual) *no nakṣatre havam ā
gametam* (2 dual opt) TB 3 1 3 1d

svargān (AŚ text *svagān*, Vaıt *svargam*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ *°tah*, Vaıt
jayema) SV AŚ ŚŚ Vaıt. Preceded by *agman*   AŚ , ıf not cor-
rupt, understands *jayatah* as nom plur pple , cf §306

avımuktacakra (sc *tīre*) *āsīran* PG   *vıvṛttacakrā* (sc *prajāh*) *āsīnāh*
ApMB HG (here preceded by *āhuh*).

ahāh śarīram (TB *ahāc charīram*) *payasā sametı* (TB *sametya*) TB
Vaıt   Followed by *bhavatı*

patyur anuvratā bhūtvā AV.· *agner anuvratā bhūtvā* TS KS TB MŚ.
ApMB : *mām anuvratā bhava* HG.   The first two versions are fol-
lowed by finite verbs

sarāh patatriṇīh sthana (KS. *stha*) TS. MS KS . *sarā patatrinī'bhūtvā*
AV. (here followed by *ehi*)   *sīrāh patatrinī sthana* RV VS.

abhyarṣan (SV. *abhy arṣa*) *stotṛbhyo vīravad yaśah* RV. SV.   In both
pavate precedes.

(*ā te yatante rathyo yathā pṛthak*) *chardhānsy agne ajarāni* (SV. *ajarasya*)
dhakṣatah (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ   See §27.

tiṣṭhann (GB *caratv*) *āsīno yadi vā svapann api* ŚB. GB.   Prec in both
by *śramād anyatra parivartamānah* (not °*nāh* as Conc. reads).

(*vi yat pavitram dhiṣaṇā atanvata*) *gharmam śocantah* (AŚ. *śocanta*, ŚŚ.
°*tam*) *pravaneṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ *pranaveṣu*) *bibhratah* AB. AŚ ŚŚ.   We
have no confidence in the edition of AŚ. on such a reading as *śo-
canta*.

abandhv eke dadatah prayachanto, dātum cec chikṣān sa svarga eva AV.
'some without relatives, giving, bestowing—if they be able to give,
that is very heaven' (Whitney). *abandhv eke dadata prayachād,
dātum cec chaknuvānsah svarga eṣām* TA.   Both forms are poor
and probably corrupt   In TA read *dadatah* with comm. and Poona
ed. text; probably also *chaknavān* (or b·tter °*vān*) *sa* with Poona
ed text, which notes v. 1 *chaknuvānsah*; the comm. explains
prayachāt as *prayachanti*, which suggests that *prayachān* is to be
read with AVPpp

caraty ananuvratā ApMB HG : *vicaranty apativratā* ŚG. MDh.   Both
preceded by finite *pralulubhe* or *pralulobha*

trīn samudrān samasṛpat svargān (MS °*gah*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *samsarpa*
(KS. °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ. °*gānl lokān*) KS ApŚ
Followed by *gacha*   See §130.

yajāno (or *yajā no*, so Garbe's ed of ApŚ., followed by Caland's Transl ,
the others all *yajāno*; MS p. p. *yajānah*, some mss. *yajamāno*; TB.
comm interprets as pple) *devān* (MS *devo*) *ajarah suvīrah* (asso-
ciated with *gopāya nah*) MS TB. AŚ ApŚ   It is questionable
whether *yajā no* has any standing

datto (= *datta u*) *asmabhyam* (KS. *dattvāyāsma*°, AŚ *dattāyāsma*°, SMB.
dattāsma°) *dravineha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no
dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS   Followed by sundry finite verbs.

sa īm vṛṣājanayat (KS *vṛṣā janayans*) *tāsu garbham, sa īm śiśur dhayati
tam rihanti* RV. KS   The Conc. suggests emendation of KS to
-*janayat*; but von Schroeder keeps his text, which is no doubt inter-
pretable if somewhat harsh.

śatam jīvantu (AV. *°tah*) *śaradah purūcīh* RV AV. VS. ŚB TB TA. ApŚ. ApMB.   Followed by *antar* (*tıro*) *mṛtyum dadhatām (dadhmahe) parvatena*

āprīnānau vıjahatā arātım (TB. ApŚ *samjānānau vıjahatām arātīr*), *dıvı* (KS. *dıve*) *jyotır uttamam* (TB. ApŚ. *ajaram*) *ārabhethām* (TB ApŚ *°tām*) MS KS. TB. ApŚ *vıjahatā(u)*, dual pple.; *°tām*, 3 dual ımpv.

prajām ajaryām nah kuru, rāyas poṣeṇa sam sṛpa SMB · *prajām suvī- rām* (PG *suvīryām*) *kṛlvā, vıśvam* (PG. *dīrgham*) *āyur vy aśnavat* (PG *°vaı*) TS PG

ahar-ahar (AV. TS *rātrım-rātrım*, MS. KS ŚB * *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayā- vam bharantah* AV. VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. *ahar-ahar balım ıt te harantah* AV.. *vıśvāhā te sadam ıd bharema* AV. Followed by finıte verb

(*upakṣarantı juhvo ghṛtena*) *prıyānı aṅgānı tava vardhayantīh* (*sc srucah*) TB.· *abhıkṣarantı juhvo ghṛtenāṅgā parūnṣı tava vardhayantı* (one ms *°tī*, poıntıng also to *°tīh*) Vait.

sa pūrvavaj janayañ (TA ApŚ *°yaj*) *jantave dhanam* RV PB. TA. ApŚ Followed by *pary etı* (*parı yātı*) in next pāda   The secondary char- acter of *janáyaj* (so!) ın TA. ıs emphasızed by ıts retentıon of the accent of *jandyan*

tat tvam ārohāso medhyo bhava TA (Poona ed *bhavam*, but v 1 and comm *bhava*), 'do thou, O spırıt, ascénd, become sacrıfıcıal'. *tad ā roha puruṣa medhyo bhavan* AV. 'ascend that, O man, becomıng sacrıfıcıal ' See Whıtney's Transl and note. Most mss do not accent *bhavan*

pratıṣṭhām gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratıṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB *°yet*) AB. GB. Gaastra consıders GB corrupt

dyumnam vṛnīta puṣyase (KS *vareta puṣyatu*) RV VS. TS MS KS ŚB.: *dyumne vareta puṣyatu* KS Cf §163. *puṣyase* ıs ınfınıtıve

tenedhyasva vardhasva ceddha (HG *cendhı*) AG HG   The word *ındhı* (*ıddha*) ıs better taken, wıth Oldenberg, as part of the followıng phrase, *vardhaya cāsmān* (ın both)

ahīnś ca sarvāñ jambhaya, sarvāś ca yātudhānyo, 'dharācīh parā suva KS *ahīnś ca sarvān* (TS *°vāñ*) *jambhayan, sarvāś ca yātudhānyah* (VS MS *°dhānyo, 'dharācīh parā suva*) VS TS MS

dhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantau (PB *abhısam°*) TS PB. TB PG ApMB : *dhvāntā vātā agnım* (mss *vātāgnım*, both texts) *abhı ye sam carantı* MŚ MG   The prıncıpal verb follows ın the last pāda

sāhyāma (RV. *sāhvānso*) *dasyum avratam* RV SV. Prec ın both by 1 plur fınıte verbs

samānam yonim anu samcáranti (AV. MS °*carete*) RV AV TS. MS. KS ApMB   Followed by *caratah*   The ed of KS. reads °*carete* also, but the single ms °*carante*, which as the editor observes might quite as well stand for °*caranti*

ādityam garbham payasā sam añgdhi (TS KS. *samañjan*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB.   Followed by *parivṛñgdhi*

ubhayor lokayor ṛddhvā (MŚ *ṛdhnomi*) TB TAA. ApŚ MŚ   Followed by (*ati*) *tarāmi*

[*punāno vāram pary eti* (SV. *vāram aty eṣy*) *avyayam*] *śyeno na yonim ghṛtavantam āsadam* (SV °*dat*) RV SV ApŚ   *āsadam* is infin, 'to sit', SV. makes it a finite verb, 'he has sat', which goes very ill with the 2d person *eṣi* which SV substitutes for RV *eti*.   Compare the pāda *śyeno na yonim āsadat*, RV etc , which seems to have influenced SV

janiyanti nāv agravah, putriyanti sudānavah AV . *janīyanto nv agravah, putrīyantah sudānavah* RV. SV. (followed by *havāmahe*)

[*vṛṣṭim divah pavasva rītim apām* (SV *apo*)] *jinvā* (SV *jinvan*) *gaviṣṭaye dhiyah* RV. SV.

jyok ca sūryam dṛśe (LŚ *dṛśeyam*) RV AV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. TA. LŚ. Kauś ApMB. HG.

(*parārciṣā mūradevāñ chṛnīhi*) *parāsutṛpah śośucatah śṛnīhi* (RV. °*tṛpo abhiśośucānah*) RV. AV.

devā amuñcann (AV. *muñcanto*) *asṛjan vy* (AV. *nir*) *enasah* AV. TB. HG ApMB.

puṣyema (AA *puṣyanto*) *rayim dhīmahe ta* (AA. *tam*) *indra* SV AA ŚŚ. See Keith, AA 285, note 7.

(*yo* ..) *hṛdārātīyād* (KS °*yann*) *abhidāsad agne* KS TB ApŚ   Caland on ApŚ. not unnaturally thinks of reading *abhidāsād*, to match *arātīyād;* but KS is against it

marmṛjyante (SV *marjayantūr*) *divah śiśum* RV SV.   Prec by *abhy anūṣata*

mā mā (KS *mām*) *hinsiṣṭam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim āviśantau* (KS *āviśāthah*) MS KS . *mā mā hinsīh svām* (KS † *svam*) *yonim āviśanti* (KS TB ApŚ *āviśan*) VS KS. ŚB TB ApŚ.

ut tiṣṭha (VS ŚB. KŚ *utthāya*) *bṛhatī* (TA. *bṛhan*) *bhava* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA KŚ MŚ

(*yad dha krānā vivasvati*) *nābhā samdāyi navyasī* (*adha pra sū na upa yantu dhītayah*) RV   (*yad dha krānā vivasvate*) *nābhā samdāya navyase* (*adha pra nūnam upa yanti dhītayah*) SV.

stuṣeyyam puruvarpasam ṛbhvam RV. AV. N : *stuṣva varṣman puruvart-*

mānam samṛbhvāṇam AV. *stuṣeyya* is a gerundive formation, 'him
that should be praised', dependent on a verb of the prec stanza
In the other form a different stanza precedes, and the finite *stuṣva*
(which, as ̣impv., transfuses the same idea into other words) is
therefore substituted

venas tat paśyat paramam guhā yat (VS. *paśyan nihitam guhā sat;* TA
MahānU. *paśyan nśvā bhuvanāni vidvān*) AV. VS TA MahānU
Here there is no verb on which the participle *paśyan* can depend,
TA comm lamely supplies *vartate*

[*bradhnah samīcīr uṣasah samairayat* (AV. °*yan*) AV. SV. ApŚ MŚ.
Again there is no finite verb here on which the pple. might depend;
and Whitney adopts the SV reading]

[*ariṣṭair nah pathibhih pārayantā* (GB °*tu*) RV. TS MS KS. AB GB
But GB is merely corrupt   Gaastra reads with one ms. °*tā* (dual
pple)]

[*daṅsanābhir aśvinā pārayantā* (TB °*tām*) RV TB   Poona ed also
°*tām;* but comm. °*tā,* dual pple , which is the only possible form, a
plural verb being uninterpretable]

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CHAPTER VII. INTERCHANGES BETWEEN EQUIVALENT PERSONAL ENDINGS

§251. The variants avail themselves freely of the possibilities of equivalent personal verb endings. The ranging of these interchanges covers nearly all the grammatical territory concerning this matter. We deal with them as follows:

1. *r*-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without *r*.

2. Subjunctive endings in *si* and *s*, *ti* and *t*, *te* and *tai*, *vahe* and *vahai*, *mahe* and *mahai*

3 Imperatives in *tāt* interchanging with other imperatives.

4. Presence or absence of imperative 2d singular *dhi* (*hi*), and interchange between *dhi* and *hi*.

5. Second plural active endings with or without final *na*.

6. Endings in *a* sometimes rhythmically lengthened to *ā*.

7. Miscellaneous interchanges of endings

1 r-endings varying among themselves, or interchanging with equivalent endings without r

§252. There are two variations between *ram* and *ran* with wavering chronological indications (RV. *adŗśram*, AV. *adŗśran;* but also RV. *asŗgran*, SV. *asŗgram*). On the other hand, as between 3 plural middle perfects in *re* and *rire*, (Whitney, *Grammar* §550d) the more archaic forms in *re*, *duduhre* and *dadŗśre*, belong to RV., *duduhrire* and *dadŗśrire* to later texts Unexpectedly, archaizing *r*-endings replace the normal 3 sing. imperfect middle *adhatta* (RV AV) in *adhadrāh* (SV.), *adadhrām* (KS.), and *athadrām* (TA , corrupt) Very anomalously the form *adŗśran* seems to be used as an active in several YV. texts, only TS. NilarU. having the regular *adŗśan* And the 3 plural present middle *duhate* varies with *duhrate*, not only once in the RV. itself, but also once between RV and AV., the AV. showing the more archaizing *duhrate:* *ghŗtaṁ duhrata* (and, *duhata*) *āśiram* RV. (both). See *RVRep.* 137, 562, and next.

te dakṣiṇām duhate (AV *te duhrate dakṣiṇām*) *saptamātaram* RV. AV. See prec

asŗgran (SV. °*ram*) *devavītaye* RV. SV.

adṛśram (AV * ArS MS. KS MŚ *°rann) asya ketavah* RV. AV (both) ArS. VS. MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ KŚ.

trir asmai sapta dhenavo duduhre (SV Svidh *°hrire*) RV SV Svidh Here the SV. smooths out, secondarily no doubt, the meter in an otherwise *jagatī* stanza, cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 287

śṛṅgāṇīvec chṛṅgiṇām sam dadṛśre (TB ApŚ *°śrire*) RV. KB TB ApŚ Here the stanza is *triṣṭubh*

serate (AB *śere*) *'sya sarve pāpmānah* AB ŚŚ   On these forms see Whitney, *Grammar* §§550d, 629   The AB , in an *anuṣṭubh* stanza, has better meter, Hillebrandt suggests deletion of *'sya* in ŚŚ

apa snehitīr (SV. *snīhitim) nṛmanā adhatta* (SV *adhadrāh*, KS *adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS : *upa stuhi* (Poona ed *snuhi) tam nṛmnām athadrām* TA   In RV , 'the hero-minded (god) has driven away the enemies '   The r-forms of even SV and KS are highly problematic; as to TA , the only certain thing about it is that it is badly corrupted, and this applies to more than the one word *athadrām* (the comm has a v. l *athodrām*, its gloss is *adhodravanaśīlam*[1])

utainam gopā adṛśran (TS *adṛśan)* VS TS MS KS   *uta tvā gopā adṛśan* NīlarU   The anomalous *adṛśran* is obviously felt as 3 plural with active meaning,[1] Mahīdhara, *paśyanti*   It might, perhaps, be included under variations between active and middle without change of meaning, §38ff   This variant is followed in VS. TS by: *adṛśrann* (TS † *adṛśann) udahāryah* VS TS

2 *Subjunctive endings in si and s, ti and t, te and tai, vahe and vahai, mahe and mahai*

§253 These optional endings of the subjunctive interchange, in general without chronological indications, but metrical criteria are sometimes involved, since the shorter endings *s* and *t* help to produce shorter lines   As to the *e* and *ai* endings the phonetic relations between these two sounds must be considered, as set forth in §26, and furthermore some of the *e*-forms may be considered indicatives, cf §§118, 124

yathā nah subhagāsasi (AV *sumanā asah*) RV AV TA

yathā nah suphalāsasi (AV *suphalā bhuvah*) RV AV TA

subheṣajam yathāsati (AV *°si*, LŚ *°sat*) AV TS MS. KS. LŚ (the last secondary and metrically poor)

viprā gātham gāyata yaj jujoṣati (AA *°ṣat*) AA ŚŚ   *viprāya gātham gāyata yam jujoṣate* SV

sa no nediṣṭham havanāny āgamat (and once, *havanāni joṣat*) KS (ter)   *sa no nediṣṭhā havanāni joṣate* (MS *havanā jujoṣa*) TS MS : *sa no viśvāni havanāni joṣat* VS ŚB

teṣām yo ajyānim ('jyānim) ajīlim āvahāt TS. SMB.† (in Jorgensen as
TS.) PG. BDh.· *teṣām ajyānim* (MŚ. °*nam) yatamo na āvahāt*
(AV. *yatamo vahāti)* AV. KS MŚ

anu nau śūra mansate (TS °*tai)* RV. TS KSA.

yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte (AV. °*ti,* ApMB. HG. *visrayātai)* RV. AV.
ApMB. HG.

pari ṣvajāte (AV °*tai) libujeva vṛkṣam* RV. AV N

pra yaḥ satrācā (TB. *sa vācā) manasā yajāte* (TB °*tai)* RV TB.

(*net tvā   ) dadhad vidhakṣyan paryaṅkhayātai* TA.· (*net tvā   ) dadhṛg
vidhakṣyan paryaṅkhayāte* (AV. *vidhakṣan parīṅkhayātai)* RV. AV.
See §§234c, 27

yam jīvam aśnavāmahai (MS °*he)* RV. AV VS. TS MS KS.

yayā gā ākarāmahe (SV. °*hai)* RV. SV.

(*kva tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuḥ) sacāvahe* (MS °*hai) yad avṛkam purā
cit* RV MS. But in §124 we have treated *sacāvahe* as indicative.

3 *Imperatives in tāt exchanging with other imperatives*

§254 On this interchange see §150. It begins in the RV itself, in
the first of the following list, where there is reason to regard the form in
tāt as the older, see §100:

pra no yachatād avṛkam pṛthu chardih RV. 1. 48. 15. *prāsmai yachatam
avṛkam pṛthu chardih* RV. 8 9 1

viṣūcīnān(VSK °*nā) vyasyatām* (VSK °*tāt)* VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB.

ūrdhvām enām (or, *ūrdhvam enam) uc chrayatāt* (VS * ŚB * MS *chrāpaya)*
VS (both) TS MS KSA ŚB. (both) TB AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait LŚ ApŚ.

nir anhasaḥ pipṛtā (TB. °*tān) nir avadyāt* RV. VS. MS TB   Is TB.
(both editions, text and comm) reliable? Comm *pipṛtāt pālayata.*

punar māviśatād (MŚ °*tām) rayiḥ* VS TS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

sā (HG *sa) mām āviśatād iha* (MG *āviśatām ihaiva)* ApMB HG. MG ·
sā medhā viśatād u mām RVKh 10 151 3d (correct reference in
Conc) For RVKh   Scheftelowitz reads exactly as ApMB.

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmrājyam gacha* (VSK *gachatāt,*
MŚ *gachet)* VS. VSK TS. ŚB MŚ.

etam jānātha (TB *jānītāt,* KS *jānīta) parame vyoman* VS KS ŚB.
TB   *jānīta smainam* (TS. MŚ *jānītād enam) parame vyoman*
AV TS MŚ   See §104, s

iṣṭāpurte kṛnavāthāvir (VSK ŚB *kṛnavathāvir,* TS TB MŚ. *kṛnutād
āvir) asmai* {MŚ *asmāt)* VS. VSK TS ŚB. TB MŚ · *iṣṭāpūrtam*
(AV. °*tam sma) kṛnutād āvir* (AV *kṛnutāvir) asmai* AV KS   The
patchword *sma* in AV suggests that its reading is likely to be
secondary.

172   VEDIC VARIANTS I THE VERB

jaitrāyā (ApMB HG. °*tryāyā*) *viśatād u mām* (ApMB. °*tān mām*, HG.
°*tām mām*) RVKh VS ApMB HG

**4. Presence or absence of imperative 2 sing. ending dhi (hi), and interchange
between dhi and hi**

§255. As a matter of grammatical genesis the forms with *dhi* or *hi*
should be anterior to those without ending, and *dhi* anterior to *hi;* and
the first and fourth examples agree with this. But in the third, *kṛnuhi*
of Vait. is hyper-archaic as regards the stem *kṛnu-* §186   And in the
second, *tanuhi* of LŚ is for similar reasons unusable for chronological
deductions   On this whole matter see most recently Bloch, *MSL* 23.
176; he regards *hi* (rather than *dhi*) as the regular ending with polysyl-
labic bases, and explains *śṛnudhi* (as in our fourth example) as due to
the analogy of *śrudhi* from a monosyllabic base.

abhy enam bhūma ūrnuhi (TA *bhūmi vṛnu*) RV AV. TA

asāv (*asā*) *anu mā taniu* (LŚ *tanuhi* [printed in text as *tanu hi*] *jyotiṣā*)
    MS. KS. LŚ ApŚ. MŚ.

ojasvantam mām āyuṣmantam varcasvantam (MŚ *mām sahasvantam*)
    manuṣyeṣu kuru (Vait *āyuṣmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuhi*) TS MS
    AŚ Vait.

nṝṅḥ (MS *nṝṅs*) *pāhi śṛnudhī* (SV.°*hī*) *girah* RV SV VS MS KS ŚB

5. Second plural endings with or without na

§256. The endings *tana* and *thana* contain an extra syllable, as com-
pared with *ta* and *tha*   The longer forms are suitable for even syllable
cadences (‿–‿ ‿, iambic dipody), the shorter forms for the corre-
sponding catalectic cadence (‿–‿)   The RV. itself uses this corre-
spondence to construct otherwise identical *jagatī* and *triṣṭubh* pādas
asmabhyam śarma bahulam vi yantana 5 55 9, and   *yanta* 6 51 5 ,
adhi stotrasya sakhyasya gātana 5 55 9, and   *.gāta* 10 78 8

See *RV Rep* 530, 563, where these appear among similar metrical and
grammatical devices for procuring practically identical or very similar
pairs of *jagatī* and *triṣṭubh* lines   At times the use of the shorter form
is accompanied by the introduction of a patch-word as metrical com-
pensation, or the longer form replaces such a patch-word, as in.

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah (TB *śṛnotana*) RV. TB. N

These differences may suggest critical conclusions, as in. *pareuna*
(TS KS. ApŚ *pareta*) *pitarah somyāsah* (TS ApŚ. *somyāh*) TS MS KS
AŚ. ApŚ., which doubtless read originally *paretana pitarah somyāsah*

We group the passages as much as possible with such considerations in mind:

§257. Passages without patch-word, and otherwise essentially identical:

tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana RV. 10 37. 11d: *athā naḥ śaṁ yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. °*tana*) RV. VS. MS. KS. N.: *adhā nah śam yor arapo dadhāta* AV.: *athāsmabhyam śam yor arapo dadhāta* TS. In MS the p.p reads *dadhāta;* the longer form disturbs the meter of the (*triṣṭubh*) stanza. Yet, most interestingly, one AV ms. also has *dadhātana* This reading is obviously due to the influence of RV. 10 37. 11d, which occurs in a *jagatī* stanza, and where °*tana* is therefore in order.

paretana (pareta) etc., see above; the two RV. repetitions quoted above are likewise not repeated here

athā rayim sarvavīraṁ dadhātana RV. VS. TS MS. KS : *rayim ca naḥ sarvavīraṁ dadhāta* AV 18 3 14d, 44d. All texts except AV. 18. 3. 14 have the pāda in an entirely *jagatī* stanza, where *dadhātana* is therefore appropriate, and so the AV. comm reads on 18. 3. 44. AV. 18 3 14 is *triṣṭubh,* and so has properly *dadhāta*.

amī ye vivratā (MS °*tāh,* KS °*tās*) *sthana* (MS *stha*) AV. MS KS. The form *stha* is metrically poor.

sarāh patatriṇīh sthana (KS *stha*) TS. MS KS : *sīrāh patatriṇī sthana* RV. VS   Again the short form is inferior, and clearly secondary.

svāveśā nā āgata MS : *anamīvā upetana* AV.

ye ke ca bhrātarah sthana (ŚŚ. *sthāh?*) AB ŚŚ.   The form of ŚŚ 15. 26c is difficult   Tho it is written *sthā* and followed by a vowel, Hillebrandt (Index) understands it (doubtfully) as = *stha* + *ā* (rather than *sthāh* as given by Conc)   It is in any case secondary.

§258 Passages in which the short form is filled out with a patch-word ·

srucā juhuta no (ŚŚ *juhutanā*) *havih* TB ŚŚ. ApŚ.

ramadhvam mā bibhīta mat (Kauś *bibhītana*) AV. Kauś

gṛhā mā bibhīta mā vepadhvam (LŚ ApŚ HG. *vepidhvam*) VS LŚ. ApŚ. ŚG HG   Cf *grhā māsmad bibhītana* AV. HG.

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah (TB *śṛnotana*) RV. TB N. See §365. Here, of course, the shorter form, in -*tu,* not -*ta,* is not the equivalent of the longer one, the variant is quoted as showing a similar trend.

6 *Endings in -a sometimes rhythmically lengthened to -ā*

[§259. These cases do not concern primarily the Verb Variants, but rather the Phonetic Variants, and we shall reserve a full treatment of them for that section of our work, contenting ourselves here with a very brief summary and a bare list of the instances   The forms in *ā* are not regarded by the texts themselves as variant endings, but merely as phonetic forms of the endings in short *a*, on a level with the alterations required by sandhi.   This is evidenced by the facts that all the pada-pāṭhas regularly substitute the form in short *a* for *ā;* that the *ā* is not allowed to stand at the end of a pāda, and that in TS it is not allowed at the end of a *kandikā* (cf Wackernagel 1 §265a, note).   For this last reason, in two variant pādas, where all other texts have final *ā*, the TS. has short *a*, for the sole reason that the word in question happens to come at the end of that purely mechanical division of its text.

   vīrebhir aśvair maghavā bhavā (TS *bhava*) *naḥ* RV. VS TS MS KS

   bṛhaspate pari dīyā (TS *dīya*) *rathena* RV. AV. SV. VS TS. MS KS
There is among the variants one case where some texts have the *ā* at the end of a pāda, namely:

   vanaspate 'va sṛjā (KS. *sṛja*) AV. VS TS MS KS.
Here KS alone has the short *a* which is required at the end of a pāda   The case is however peculiar, and it is by no means certain that AV. means to end the pāda here.   Indeed, all the mss , both editions, and the Anukramaṇī add to this pāda the next following word, *rarāṇaḥ;* after which the text proceeds, *imanā devebhyo agnir havyam śamitā svadayatu*   Whatever may have been the real intent of AV., there is no doubt that the YV. texts end the pāda with *sṛjā*.   However, the whole stanza is a bungling reminiscence of RV. 3 4 10ab, *vanaspate 'va sṛjopa devān, agnir haviḥ śamitā sūdayāti* (in the last pāda the YV. texts agree with RV.).   And there is obviously a connection between the *ā* of *sṛjā* and the fact that in the oldest form (in RV.) the word did not end the pāda, as indeed it does not, according to the unanimous tradition, in AV

   §260. The lengthening of the final *a* is rhythmic, not metrical   See Wackernagel 1. §266a   The poets, to be sure, make free use of the license to lengthen the final *a* in syllables where the meter requires *ā* long   But fundamentally it is a matter not of metrical requirements, but of sentence rhythm.   It occurred, originally, in places where the next word began with a single consonant, so that the syllable would be otherwise short (be it remembered that it *never* occurred before a pause[1]), and regularly where the following syllable was short; perhaps in the beginning when the preceding syllable was also short   That is, it was due to

avoidance of a succession of short syllables unrelieved by a long. In the variants clear traces of this fact will appear; we shall show, in our section on Phonetics, that the following word almost invariably begins with a single consonant, and that the following syllable is usually short The preceding syllable, however, is short only about half the time, among the cases occurring in the variants. That it is not a matter of metrical requirements is shown by the fact that the lengthening occurs most often (among the variants) in syllables where metrical length is not required; it is much commoner in the first part of the pāda than in the cadence.

§261. All these matters will be duly set forth, along with other precisely similar cases of rhythmically lengthened final *a* in other than verb forms, in our section on Phonetics. The variant pādas which show it in verbal endings are the following, in addition to the above. The reader may be reminded of the somewhat similar variations between long and short vowels in the interior of causative (§242) and denominative stems (§243) and in reduplicating syllables (§271); these are probably also rhythmic in character. F. E]

tam ā pṛna (TB *pṛnā*) *vasupate vasūnām* RV. TB.

ājuhotā (TB. ApŚ. °*ta*) *duvasyata* RV. ŚB. TB. (ApŚ. ,Pratīka)

prāñco agāma (TA *prāñjo 'gāmā*) *nṛtaye hasāya* RV. AV. TA.

apo devīr upa sṛja (MS *sṛjā*) *madhumattīh* VS TS MS KS. ŚB

agne purīṣyādhipā bhava (TS *bhavā*) *tvam nah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

aditsan vā (MS. *dhipsyaṁ vā*, TB *yad vādāsyan*) *samjagara* (TB °*jagārā*; MS °*cakara*) *janebhyah* MS TB. TA.

sapta yonīr (KS. *yonīnr*) *ā pṛnasva* (TS KS TB °*svā*) *ghṛtena* VS TS. MS KS ŚB TB

varivasya mahāmaha (SV. *syā mahonām*) RV SV.

indra somam imaṁ piba RV. ŚŚ · *indra somam pibā imam* RV. AV SV MS The p p of both RV. and MS *piba*, not *pibāh*, see Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 8 17 1

vayam rāṣṭre jāgryāma (MS. KS. °*mā*; TS and MS p p *jāgriyāmā*) *purohitāh* VS VSK TS MS KS

vidma te svapna janitram AV. *vidma* (text *mā*; read *ma?*) *te svapna* (pratīka) Kauś

vidmā te nāma (AV. *vidma te dhāma*) *paramam guhā yat* RV AV. VS TS MS KS. ŚB ApMB.

hinva (Vait °*vā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrāni*) *harivah* TS Vait. KŚ ApŚ MŚ

gharmaṁ pāta vasavo yajata (TA. °*tā*; MS. °*trā*) *vāṭ* (MS *vet*, TA *vaṭ*) VS MS ŚB. TA It is not likely to be accidental that TA , the only text which has a short syllable following, lengthens the final *ā*.

idam me prāvatā vacaḥ RV. VS. TS KS. TB.: *oṣadhayaḥ prāvata vācaṁ me* MS.: *asyā avata vīryam* Kauś.

juhota (AV °*tā*) *pra ca tiṣṭhata* RV. AV VS TA.

ut tiṣṭhata (AV. Kauś. °*tā*) *pra taratā sakhāyaḥ* RV AV VS. ŚB. TA. Kauś

pary ū ṣu pra dhanva (AV. °*vā*) *vājasātaye* RV. AV. SV KS AB. ŚB

yasmād yoner udārīthā (KS. °*tha*) *yaje* (MS KS *yajā*) *tam* RV. VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB.

ud īrayathā (MS. MŚ. °*tā*, AV KS °*ta*) *marutaḥ samudrataḥ* RV. AV. TS MS. KS. AŚ and pratīka MŚ

dyumantam śuṣmam ā bharā (SV. *bhara*) *svarṇdam* RV. SV.

vahā (TB N. *vaha*) *devatrā dīdhiṣo* (MS *dadhiṣo*, but most mss. *di°*) *havīṅṣi* MS KS TB N

janiṣṭa (TS. *janiṣvā*, MS °*ṣva*) *hi jenyo agre ahnām* RV. TS MS. KS. ApŚ.

ramayata (KS. °*tā*) *marutaḥ śyenam āyinam* (MŚ. *marutaḥ pretam vājinam*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ Three mss of KS also read *ramayata prelā jayatā narah* RV. AV SV VS · *upa preta jayatā narah* TS

yatrā naś cakrā (KS Conc *cakra*, with one ms., but ed *cakrā*) *jarasam tanūnām* RV. VS MS KS GB ŚB. ApŚ ApMB HG

7. *Miscellaneous interchanges of endings*

§262. Here are grouped various sporadic cases of interchanges concerning endings

(a) Precatives 3d singular in *yās* and *yāt*

See Whitney, *Grammar* §838

pari ṇo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh (VSK °*yāt*) RV. VSK : *pari vo hetī rudrasya vṛjyāh* (TB *vṛñjyāt*) RV. TB. See §104, u, and *RVRep* 573.

indras te soma sutasya peyāh (SV. *peyāt*) RV SV.   •

narāśaṁso gnāspatir ṇo avyāt (RV *avyāh*) RV. MS TB.

dhiyo hinvāno dhiya in no avyāh (TA *avyāt*) RV. TA : *dhiya invāno dhiya in no avyāt* MS

(b) *s*-aorist 3d singular in older and later forms.

The older non-thematic type of conjugation of *s*-aorists calls for a 3d singular active ending *s*, for *st*, and after a consonant even the *s* is lost (Whitney, *Grammar* §888) This form exchanges twice with 3d singulars of the later type in *sīt* With these may be compared the forms which we have classified §202 as root-aorists from roots in *ā* (*ahāt, aprāt*) which vary with *s*-aorists from the same roots (*ahās, aprās*, 3d sing); the *t*-forms may also be considered as belonging in this category.

agnis te tanuvam māti dhāk TS. TB. ApŚ · *agnis te tejo mā prati dhākṣit*
JB

yan me 'dya retah pṛthivīm askāntsīt (TA *askān*) ŚB. TA BṛhU.

(c) Confusion of 1st plural *mas* and *ma*.

Aside from cases which may be considered different tenses, we find
the following small group, on which cf. Whitney, *Grammar* §§548a,
636d, 795a   They have of course a phonetic aspect, the final visarga
was lightly pronounced, see §25 above   It is noteworthy that all occur
at the end of pādas, or practically so (followed by a particle of interjec-
tion only)

tasmin vayam upahūtās tava smah (MŚ *sma*) TB MŚ.

abhiratāh smah (YDh *sma ha*) ViDh YDh BrhPDh.

viratāh smah (ŚG *sma bhoh*) ŚG. PG.

prati bhāgam na dīdhima (SV. °*mah*) RV AV. SV VS N.   Whitney,
    Roots, s. v *dhī*, regards both forms as 1 plur perfect.

īśānam tvā śuśrumo (KS °*mā*) *vayam* KS ApŚ.

anyavratasya (TA *anyad vra*°) *saścima* (RV. *saścire*, TA. *saścimah*) RV.
    VS MS ŚB TA   1st plural perfect of *sac*. But in TA. *saścima*
    should be read, with Poona ed text and comm (v. 1 one ms °*mah*).

(d) 1st singular preterites active in *am*, exchanging with *m*

In a case or two the preterite 1st singular active ending *am* is replaced
by *m*, preceded by another vowel (that of the 2d and 3d persons), by
analogy with the 2d and 3d persons   Thus, we have in the RV. itself
this repeated pāda

vadhīd vṛtram vajrena mandasānah 4 17 3, *vadhīm* etc , 10 28. 7,
where *vadhīm* is certainly made in direct imitation of *vadhīd*, see *RVRep.*
220, 564   Cf also:

tvesam vaco apāvadhīt (TS TB. °*dhīm*, MS °*dhīh*) *svāhā* VS TS MS
KS ŚB   As (*a*)*vadhīm* is a blend of *avadham* and *avadhīt*, so *agrabhīm* in
the following is a blend of *agrabham* and *agrabhīt*, and *abhūm* of *abhūvam*
and *abhūt*

iṣam ūrjam sam agrabham (TS °*bhīm*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB

abhyasikṣi rājābhūm (MS v. 1 °*bhūt*, ApŚ. °*bhūvam*) MS ApŚ : *abhiśikṣa
    rājābhuvam* (v 1 °*bhūvam*) MŚ.   Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §830a.
    The MŚ passage is quoted on Knauer's authority from unedited
    mss

(e) Subjunctive sign *ā* interchanging with *a* in non-thematic forms

The forms with short *a* are, of course, morphologically at least, the
primary ones, see Whitney, *Grammar* §§560e, 701

yathā jyok sumanā asat (ApMB *asāh*) ApMB HG

yathāso mitravardhanah AV KS   *yathāsā rāṣṭravardhanah* TB (no need
to read *yathāso* as suggested in Conc)

yat sanavatha (MS KS °*vātha*) *pūruṣam* RV VS TS MS KS

iṣṭāpūrte kṛnavāthāvir (VSK ŚB °*vathāvir*, TS TB MŚ *kṛṇutād āvir*)
asmai (MŚ *asmāt*) VS VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ

punas te prāna āyati (so TS † TA *āyāti*, AŚ *āyātu*) TS TA AŚ

(f) Sporadic and doubtful interchanges of *babhūtha* and *babhūva*

tvam hi hotā prathamo babhūtha (MŚ SMB MG *babhūva,* and so 2 mss. of
Kauś) TS KS MŚ Kauś SMB. MG   Comm at SMB *babhūva,*
babhūtha

patyur janitvam abhi sam babhūtha (TA °*va*) RV. AV TA   'Thou hast
entered into the relation of wife to husband ' The comm on TA ,
which reads *babhūva* in both edd , glosses *samyak prāpnuhi*   These
two cases suggest interesting reflections on commentators' psycho-
logy, but they are not really as bad as they look, *babhūva* is probably
due to a blend construction, with thought of *bhavān* or *bhavatī* under-
stood   Such constructions are not unknown in the later language
See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 43 297, and below, §332 —A third inter-
change between *babhūtha* and *babhūva* is rectified in the Poona ed
of TB , see §342

(g) The endings *masi* and *mas*

A single time, in late texts, these interchange, the form in *masi* being
apparently the original, or certainly metrically superior

yatra vayam vadāmasi (HG °*mah*) ApMB HG

(h) 3d plural *ūh* for *uh*.

upo ha yad vidatham vājīno guh (TB *gūh*) RV MS TB 3d plural root-
aor of *gā*, TB (both edd) anomalous, comm *gachanto variante.*

(j) *īre* for *ire* in 3d plur perfect middle (passive)

tāh prācya (Vait °*yah*, MŚ *prācīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ † °*hire*, Vait *sam-
jigāhire,* all mss) KŚ Vait MŚ   *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ

(k) Precative 2d plural with primary *tha* for secondary *ta*

ye 'tra pitarah   bhūyāstha AV ŚŚ   *ya etasmin loke   bhūyāsta* TS
TB   The form in *tha* is of course wholly anomalous, but appears to
be read by all mss of both AV and ŚŚ , see Whitney on AV 18.
4. 86, and §17

CHAPTER VIII. MATTERS PERTAINING TO AUGMENT AND REDUPLICATION

§263   This chapter is concerned with two topics: presence or absence of augment in preterite forms, and various changes in the form of reduplication

PRETERITES WITH AND WITHOUT AUGMENT

§264. Augmentless forms are ambiguous, being either preterites or injunctives, the functional relation of augmentless forms to corresponding augmented forms is therefore indeterminate.   This uncertainty is increased by the frequent correspondence otherwise between preterites and all sorts of definite modal forms which we have met as one of the established features of the variants   Just as those correspondences take place both in principal clauses (§§130 ff) and in dependent clauses (§145), so the interchanges between augmented and augmentless preterites may be conveniently divided into the same two groups   The following list rests on the assumption that both are preterites   But in the circumstances of Vedic diction there is ⌐othing to prevent one or another of them from harboring interchange between preterite and modal (injunctive) force.   Thus,

bhargo me 'vocah· bhargam me vocah,

might be respectively, 'thou hast bespoken for me luster', and, 'bespeak for me luster'   Such a case would then have to be transferred to the rubric Aorist and Injunctive, §132   And, conversely, various of the forms which we have tentatively grouped under Preterites and Injunctives might perhaps equally well be placed here   See also §146 for a few cases of augmented and augmentless prohibitives

§265   When the word preceding the variant verb-form ends in *e* or *o*, we must further remember that the following augment *a* is usually (and especially in late texts) represented, if at all, only by the *avagraha* in our manuscript tradition, and the presence or absence of this *avagraha* in our edited texts is often a matter of editing only, since the manuscripts are apt to be very undependable   Thus, in the above-mentioned example *bhargo me 'vocah,* the Conc records MŚ 5 2 15 2 as *'vocah,* and Knauer's text reads so, but his note tells us that his mss omit the *avagraha,* both here and generally.   In such cases, therefore, little im-

portance is to be attached to this seeming variation Hence we have
separated in the following list the cases in which the verb is preceded by
e or *o* from the rest

Preterites with or without augment in principal clauses

§266 a Preceded by a word ending in *e* or *o*

indrāya tvā srmo 'dadāt (ŚG *śramo dadat*) MS MŚ ŚG SMB Cf
§193 Oldenberg regards *dadat* as modal, which is of course possible
tad agnir agnaye 'dadāt (KS MŚ *dadat*) KS ApŚ MŚ Again *dadat*
may be modal
somo dadad (SMB. GG PG *'dadad,* HG *'dadād*) *gandharvāya, gan-*
dharvo dadad (SMB *'dadad*) *agnaye* (HG *gandharvo 'gnaye 'dadāt*)
RV AV. SMB. GG. PG ApMB HG MG See the preceding
two items.
bhargo me 'vocah (PB text *vocah,* comm *avocah* = *uktavān asi,* on MŚ
see above) PB. ApŚ MŚ AG . *bhargam me vocah* ŚŚ Also with
bhadram, bhūtim, yaśo, etc
ava devair devakrtam eno 'yakṣi (KS TS TB *'yāt*) VS TS KS ŚB.
TB *ava no devair devakrtam eno yakṣi* MŚ KS Here both forms
seem to be preterites, 'I have (thou hast) sacrificed away'; no modal
force is likely
(*agniś ca viṣno tapa uttamam maho*) *dīkṣāpālebhyo 'vanatam* (AŚ *dīkṣā-*
pālāya vanatam) *hi śakrā* TB AŚ So the Bibl Ind ed of TB reads,
in text and comm , but the comm treats (*a*)*vanatam* as modal, and
the Poona ed , text and comm , reads *vanatam* Probably no real
variant
[*satyam rte* (and, *rtam satye*) *dhāyi* (ApŚ *'dhāyi,* TS KSA *'dhām*) TS.
KSA TB. ApŚ. But Poona ed of TB reads *'dhāyi* See §85
Both forms preterites, but probably no augmentless form involved]

§267. b Not preceded by *e* or *o*

ā gharmo agnim rtayann asādi (TA °*dīt*) RV TA *ā gharmo agnir amrto*
na sādi MS
uktham avācīndrāya ŚŚ · *uktham vācīndrāya* TS AB. GB AŚ Vait
ApŚ MŚ *ukthyam vācīndrāya śrnvate tvā* AŚ
pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB °*bhaiṣam,* PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG
ApMB HG *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh Stenzler renders
PG. 1 13 1 'möge ich den Namen eines Vaters erlangen ' But
three preterites besides *jagrabham* make the construction of the
latter (pluperfect, cf Whitney, *Grammar* §818a) as preterite more
likely. See §§206, 219f

turīyenāmanvata (ŚŚ *turīyena manvata*) *nāma dhenoh* AV ŚŚ

utem anamnamuh (KB ŚB KŚ. ŚŚ. *uteva namnamuh*) TS MS.·AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ

ayam punāna uṣaso vi rocayat (SV *uṣaso arocayat*) RV SV. The RV. form is clearly preterite, cf. the parallel *abhavat* in the next pāda.

pary abhūd (RV *uṣarbhud bhūd*) *atithir jātavedāh* RV MS

indrāya suṣuvur (MS KS. *indrāyāsuṣuvur*) *madam* VS MS KS TB Cf §220. The form *asuṣuvuh*, strictly speaking pluperfect, is really nothing more than an augmented perfect, doubtless secondary to *suṣuvuh*, MS p p *indrāya suṣuvuh* —Yet more anomalous is the next

toyena jīvān vi sasarja (TA. *vyasasarja*) *bhūmyām* TA Mahān U. The TA has a monstrosity, see §220.

gṛhān ajūgupatam yuvam AŚ *gṛhān* (MŚ *gṛhāñ*) *jugupatam yuvam* MS. MŚ Both versions are indicative, being contrasted with *gṛhān gopāyatam yuvam*, see Conc

§268 *Preterites with or without augment in dependent clauses.*

iyam eva sā yā prathamā vyauchat (ŚG *vyuchat*) AV. TS MS KS TB. ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB

ūrdhvā yasyāmatir bhā adidyutat (VSK *atidyutat*) *savīmani* AV. SV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The variation is really phonetic (*t· d*, surd sonant).

(*yam*) *svādhyo* (TB *svādhiyo*) *vidathe apsu jījanan* (TB *apsv ajījanan*) RV TB

anūdhā yadi jījanad (SV *yad ajījanad*) *adhā ca nu* (SV. *adhā cid ā*) RV SV.

yad enam dyaur ajanayat (RV *janayat*) *suretāh* RV VS. TS. MS KS ŚB ApMB Clearly the RV form is archaic, see Oldenberg, Proleg 306, 313

yenāpāmṛṣatam (SMB v 1 °*ṣatam*) *surāni* ŚŚ SMB . *yenāvamṛṣatām surām* PG In a series of preterite formulas. PG. comm explains the lack of augment as Vedic license

yame iva yatamāne yad aitam (TA *etam*, but Poona ed *aitam*) RV AV AB KB TA AŚ 'When like two twins in step ye went ' Probably no real variant

INTERCHANGES CONCERNING REDUPLICATION

§269 Many of these concern the quantity of the reduplicating vowel, and belong to the class of Rhythmic Changes in Quantity (cf. §§259–261),

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they belong really to the section on Phonetics Obscuration of the original principles of the rhythmic change has resulted in great irregularity, however.

§270. In a series of formulas *pipīhi* of MS exchanges with *pīpihi* of TA. (and ApŚ), we thus have forms presenting the aspect of a double or compensating rhythmic shift of quantity. [It seems to me likely that MS understands *pipīhi* as 'drink!', root *pā*, while *pīpihi* certainly means 'swell!', root *pyā*   F. E]

subhūtāya pipīhi (TA *pīpihi*) MS TA   And so with *brahmavarcasāya, iṣe, ūrje, asyai viśe* (TA omits these) *mahyam jyaiṣṭhyāya, asmai* (TA omits) *brahmaṇe,* and *kṣatrāya*   ApŚ also has *iṣe,* and *ūrje, pīpihi*   See §192

§271   The next group certainly contains cases of rhythmic lengthening, sometimes with metrical bearings, but primarily phonetic in character.

udgrābhenod ajigrabhat MS.:. . . *ajigrabham,* and *ajigṛbham,* KS

yiyapsyata (AŚ *yī°*) *iva te manah* (AŚ *mukham*) AŚ ŚŚ.

imam agne camasam mā vi jihvarah (TA. *jī°*) RV AV. TA AG

gṛhān ajūgupatam yuvam AŚ · *gṛhān* (MŚ *gṛhāñ*) *jugupatam yuram* MS MŚ

prajām me (ApŚ also, *no*) *naryājugupah* (ApŚ and MŚ v. 1 °*jūgupah*) MS KS. ApŚ MŚ   Also

paśūn me (*nah*) *sansyājugupah* (ApŚ °*jūgupah*) MS ApŚ MŚ   And similar formulas in the same passage

śucanto agnim vavṛdhanta (AV *vā°*) *indram* RV. AV. KS   Whitney, *Grammar* §786a

tṛta enam (read, *tṛta enan*) *manuṣyeṣu mamṛje* AV . *trita etan manuṣyeṣu māmṛje* TB   The AV form is the more usual, but that of TB. is metrically better   See Whitney, 1 c

§272   There is, next, a small group showing confusion between the reduplicating vowels *i* (characteristic of the present) and *a* (perfect), which marks a certain blurring of the regular tense distinction between these types.   Cf the item in the Conc · *hastagrābhasya aidhiṣos* (AV *dadhiṣos*)   RV. AV TA.

pra bhānavah sisrate (SV *sasrate*) *nākam acha* RV. AV. SV VS TS MS   Here *sasrate* is anomalous, cf Oldenberg, *Proleg* 281.

vṛṣāva cakradad (and, *cakrado*) *vane* RV.: *vṛṣo acikradad vane* SV. The forms *cakradat* (°*das*) are counted perfect subjunctives; Whitney, *Grammar* §810.

tāh prācya (Vait °*yah,* MŚ °*cīr*) *ujjigāhire* (KŚ † °*ire,* Vait. *samjigāīre*)

KŚ Vait. MŚ   *prācīś cojjagāhire* ApŚ.   Perfect forms, *ı* is
anomalous

§273   The rest are odds and ends which concern reduplication in
various ways, they are mostly problematic.   There are a couple of
apparent perfect active participles with unreduplicated stems, one ob-
viously due to haplology, the other perhaps corrupt.

viśo-viśah praviśivānsam īmahe AV · *viśvasyām viśi praviviśivānsam* (KS †
praviviśānam) *īmahe* TS. MS KS   Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §§790,
803a, and on AV. 4 23. 1

viśām vavarjuşīnām (AV. *viśām avarj°*) RV. AV.   See Whitney on AV
7 50 2

Once the reduplicated *sasrjmahe* exchanges with *samsrjmahe*, the pre-
position *sam* replacing the reduplicating syllable *sa*·

agne sasrjmahe (MS *samsr°*) *girah* RV SV MS KS.

The remaining cases are not only anomalous but textually dubious

sam tvā tatakşuh (LŚ *tatakşnuh*) Vait LŚ KŚ   See §231, end   We
have little confidence in the edited text of LŚ

(*devīr dvāra indram samghāte*) *vīdvīr yāmann avardhayan* (TB *vidvīr
yāman vavardhayan*) VS TB See §218, end; read probably
avardhayan in TB

[*jajanad* (TB *prajanad*, but Poona ed correctly *jajanad*) *indram indri-
yāya svāhā* (MS om.) MS. TB. TA ŚŚ]

CHAPTER IX. VARIATIONS IN GRADE OR QUANTITY OF STEMS AND ALLIED MATTERS

§274 The matters included in this chapter are more or less homogeneous in that they all deal with verbal stems or bases which present, in alternative readings, both quantitatively fuller and less full forms We have found it convenient to subdivide them as follows, without very much regard for conventional grammatical categories, but so as to bring together forms which seem to us really to belong together:

1. Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak.

2. Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including r-stems).

3. Strong and weak Perfect forms.

4 Interchanges between strong and weak stems in r (ra, $ar\bar{\imath}$), and other variants of r.

5. Interchanges between radical short and long $\imath$ before y.

6. Other long and short $\imath$ and u in radical syllables.

7. Long and short 'intermediate $\imath$' (in set roots).

8. Presence or absence of intermediate $\imath$

9. Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms.

1. *Strong stems mainly of the 5th and 9th Present classes, substituted for weak*

§275. As compared with the almost complete rigidity of Classical Sanskrit in regard to the separation of strong and weak stems in nonthematic presents, the Vedic language shows remarkable fluidity on this point; see Bloomfield's article On certain irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives', *AJP* 5. 16ff. This is particularly the case in the 5th and 9th classes: and it usually manifests itself in encroachment of the strong stem on the weak. The variants, at least, show no case of the converse spread of the weak stem at the expense of the strong whereas they repeatedly show the normal $l\,rnu^{t}a$ or *punīhi* or the like replaced by $l\,rno^{t}a$ or *punāhi* In one formula, *barhi strnīhi* or *strnāhi*, ApŚ shows both forms Of course the strong forms are to be regarded, at least morphologically, as secondary, and due to analogical spread from forms where the strong stem is regular. But it frequently happens that the chronology of the variants runs counter to this; that is, an older text

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has the 'secondary' or analogical form, which is replaced by the regular form in a later text. Meter sometimes seems to have been concerned in the choice of the irregular form

nu: no

kṛṇota (AV. *kṛṇuta*) *dhūmam vṛṣaṇam* (AV. °*hah*) *sakhāyah* RV. AV.

urvī rodasī varivas (TS. KS °*vah*) *kṛṇotam* (KS. *kṛṇutam*) TS. MS KS.
  Here KS is metrically inferior, we may guess that metrical consid-
  erations dictated the use of the analogical *kṛṇotam*

sunuta ā ca dhāvatah RV *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV Cf. *sunoty ā ca
  dhāvati* RV. The form *sunota* is well-known in RV.

yunakta sīrā vi yugā tanudhvam (AV. TS. MS. KS. *tanota*) RV. AV. VS
  TS MS KS ŚB.

nī: nā, and analogous forms

jātavedah punīhi (MS *punāhi*)*mā* RV. VS. MS. KS.

pavitreṇa punīhi (MS *vunāhi*) *mā* VS MS KS TB. ŚŚ

punīhīndrāya (SV. VS *punāhī*°) *pātave* RV. SV VS Vait.

asmān punīhi cakṣase AV : *mām punīhi* (MS *punāhi*) *viśvatah* RV. VS.
  MS. KS.

barhi (MS. MŚ *barhih*) *stṛṇīhi* (TS MS [text *stṛṇāhi!*] MŚ. A₂Ś.
  [once] *stṛṇāhi*) TS MS. GB. ŚB Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. (quater) MŚ

sviṣṭam agne abhi tat pṛṇāhi (PG. *pṛṇīhi;* KS. *tad gṛṇīhi*) KS. TB. ApŚ.
  PG. HG.

vivasvadvāte abhi no gṛṇīhi (TS. *gṛṇāhi*) TS. MS KS AŚ.

etam jānātha (KS *jānīta,* TB *jānītāt*) *parame vyoman* VS. KS ŚB. TB.

  In one case the root *hā,* whose present inflection is analogous to that of the 9th class (cf. Whitney, *Grammar* 661a), presents a similar varia-tion.

atrā jahāma (AV. *jahīta*) *ye asann aśevāh* (AV. *aśwāh,* and *asan durevāh*)
  RV. AV. (bis) TA . *atra* (ŚB *atrā*) *jahīmo 'śwā ye asan* VS ŚB

2 *Strong and weak Aorist stems (not including r-stems)*

§276. Owing to the considerable mix-up between the various aorist systems, there is sporadic interchange between their stem-grades, a stem-grade appropriate to one formation is analogically transferred to another. In some cases there is doubt as to which aorist formation we are dealing with, and the variation in the form of the stem is itself often taken as evidence for the fact that different formations are concerned, it is, indeed, not infrequently the only such evidence available See §§202 ff. for such examples But the line between them and the class now under consideration is by no means always clear. Thus, in the first

example, it is customary to regard *bheh* and *bhaih* as respectively 1st and 4th aorists, and we have so treated them above, while *rok* and *ruk* are placed in this group as being both, apparently, root-aorists

mā bher mā roñ (VSK *mo roñ*, TS *māro*) *mo ca nah* (TS *mo eṣām*) *kim canāmamat* VS VSK TS ŚB · *mā bhair mā ruñ mo ca* (KS *rauñ mā*) *nah kim canāmamat* MS KS

§277 Similarly in several cases of s-aorists active, the *vṛddhi* vowel alternates with the *guna* (Whitney, *Grammar* §887a), sometimes one, sometimes the other form seems original·

abhyarakṣīd (AŚ. °*rākṣīd*) *āsmākam punar āgamāt* (AŚ *āyanāt*) MS AŚ
iṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat (TB.* *vākṣīt*) VS MS KS TB (both) N. See §167.

pra sakṣati pratimānam pṛthivyāh AV.: *pra sākṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV. AV. N.

ud akramīd dravinodā vājy arvā VS. TS. MS KS ŚB : *ud akrāmīt* (pratīka) ApŚ.

mā (VS. ŚB. add *vayam*) *rāyaspoṣeṇa vi yauṣma* VS MS. ŚB.: *māham rā° vi yoṣam* TS KS TA. ApŚ

ihaiva siam mā vi yauṣtam (ApMB *yoṣṭam*) RV. AV. ApMB.

§278 In two cases the dissyllabic stems *grabhai* and *śarai* interchange with their reduced forms *grabhi* and *śari*; see Whitney, *Grammar* §904b, Bloomfield, *ZDMG* 48 574ff

pitur iva nāmāgrabhiṣam (ApMB °*grabhaiṣam;* PG *nāma jagrabham*) PG. ApMB. HG : *pitur nāmeva jagrabha* RVKh

indra enam (TB. ApŚ. *enam*) *parāśarīt* AV. TB ApŚ . cf. *indro vo 'dya parāśarait* AV   But for this last SPP with most mss. and Ppp reads °*śarīt*, the regular form

§279. In a similar manner the 1st singular middle forms of the s and *iṣ* aorists show variation between reduced vowel and guna, in four variants   These forms may also be considered precatives, see Whitney, *Grammar* §§567a, 568, 923

sa yathā tvam rucyā roco 'sy evāham paśubhiś ca brāhmanavarcasena ca rucīṣīya (MS *tvam rucyā rocasa evam aham rucyu rocīṣīya*) AV. MS. The MS has the regular form, Whitney, *Grammar* §899b; cf. §907, where these forms are called precatives

vāmī te samdṛśi viśvam reto dheṣīya (KS. *dhiṣ°*) MS KS : *viśvasya te viśvārato vṛṣniyāvalah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛśi viśvā retānsi dhiṣīya* TS   The *i*-form is regular, Whitney, *Grammar* §879b, cf. §884

somasyāham devayajyayā suretā (MŚ *viśvam*) *reto dhiṣīya* (MŚ *dheṣīya*) TS ApŚ MŚ. *somo retodhās tasyāham devayajyayā suretodhā reto dhiṣīya* KS

tad adya vācah prathamam masīya (N *mansīya*) RV. AŚ. ApŚ. N.   The
   N. reading is not worthy of trust, tho formally regular enough, the
   meter is against it   See Roth's note, p 28 of Erlauterungen.
   For aorists in radical *r* varying with *ra* or *ar*, see below, §281.

3. *Strong and weak Perfect forms*

   §280 The root *sah* 'be strong', exhibits interchange between *a* and
   ā in the radical syllable twice in the perfect, as well as once in the aorist
   (see the item *pra sakṣati* or *sākṣate*, etc , under the preceding rubric).
   Long *ā* appears in other forms of this root, as is well known (*sāhati*,
   sāhyāma, sādha, sādhvā, sādhr, see Whitney's *Roots* s. v.), in some of
   these (the last three, at least) 'compensatory lengthening' has operated;
   possibly the other instances are analogical extensions from such forms.
   bibheda valam (AV AŚ *balam,* but SPP *valam* for AV) *bhrgur na sasāhe*
       (AV. *sasahe*) AV SV AŚ ŚŚ
   yat sāsahat (SV. *sāsāhā*, KS † *sāsāhat*) *sadane kam cid atrinam* RV. SV.
       KS
   Otherwise there are only sporadic interchanges ·
   krūram ānanśa (KS † ApŚ *ānāśa*) *martyah* (KS.† *martah*) AV KS. ApŚ.
       Both are in reality variant 'strong' forms of the tangled root *aś,
       anś, naś.*
   nirjaganvān (TS. °*jagmivān*) *tamaso jyotiṣāgāt* RV VS. TS MS. KS.
       ŚB.   Alternative perfect participles, Whitney §805a.
   svām cāgne tanvam (TA *tanuvam*) *piprayasva* (AV. *piprā*°) RV AV TA.
       MahānU.   Both forms are anomalous; they are classed as perfect
       imperatives.   Whitney on AV. 6. 110. 1 would read *piprayasva,*
       but we do not see that this is a particularly better form than the
       other.
   ād id antā adadrhanta purve KS.: *yaded antā adadrhanta* (TS *adadrn-
       hanta) purve* RV. VS TS. MS   Pluperfects.

4. *Interchanges between strong and weak stems in* r (ra, ari), *and other variants of* r

   §281 Here we group a few cases, mostly aorists (and therefore be-
   longing also with No. 2, §§276 ff above), in which we suspect that the
   variation between strong and weak *r*-forms is more due to phonetic
   change or corruption   The three cases of *grbh   grabh* are part of a
   tendency to reduce *r* + vowel to *r*, they will be treated along with simi-
   lar cases outside the verbal conjugation in the chapter on Samprasārana
   in our section on Phonetics   The solitary case of *jāgrtāya* for the more

vājno vājajto vājam sasṛvānso (KS. *jigīvānso;* TS *sasṛvānso vājam jigīvānso*)   .VS TS KS ŚB   Roots *ji* and *jyā, ji?*   Cf next.

ajitāh (TA *ajītāḥ,* ApMB and one ms of HG. *ajītā) syāma śaradah śatam* TA ApMB HG   Cf. prec   TA. comm paraphrases by *ajitāh*

samiñgayati (ŚB *samīñg°) sarvatah* RV ŚB BrhU   The true reading of BrhU is that of ŚB , *°iñg°* is Boehtlingk's emendation

praśāstah pra suhi (KŠ *sūhi;* MŠ *suva;* ApŠ *suva pra suhi*) AŠ. ŠŠ KŠ ApŠ. MŠ.   *suhi* looks like a blend of *sūhi* and *suva*

mā hiṅsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB *ūh°*) AV. ApMB.

7. Long and short 'intermediate ı'

§285. There are a few cases of unstable quantity in the *ı* which may be called, broadly speaking, the Sanskrit representative of the schwa-vowel in the second syllable of dissyllabic (*set*) roots, we include here *i* and *ī* before the *s* of the aorist, since that originally belonged in this category. Among the latter, it is noteworthy that we find both instances of 3d singular forms with short *i* where it should be long, and plural or dual forms with long *ī* where it should be short. The cases are very few in number, and probably analogical in both instances.

suśami samīṣva (TS TB *samiṣva;* KS † *samnīṣva*) VS TS MS. KS. ŠB. TB.

sa idam devebhyo havih (*havyam) samīṣva* (TS TB. omit) *suśami samīṣva* (TS. TB. *samiṣva*) VS. VSK TS KS. TB.   *devebhyo havyam samīṣva* MS.

amīmadanta pitaro yathābhāgam (Kauś *°gam yathālokam) āvṛṣāyiṣata* (AŠ *āvṛṣāyiṣata,* ŠŠ. *avīvṛṣata*) VS VSK ŠB AŠ ŠŠ Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG.   See §§201, 243

tato no mitrāvarunāv aviṣṭam TB   *tena no mitrāvarunāv* (MS. *°nā) aviṣṭam* RV MS   *aviṣṭam* doubtless analogous to *avīt*

mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd (TS. *°yid,* KSA *°yed,* MS *dhanayīd) dhūmagandhih* RV. VS TS. MS KSA.   See §174; Whitney, *Grammar* §1048, and cf. *indro vājam ajayit,* TS. 1. 7. 8 1, TB.

8. Presence or absence of 'intermediate ı'

§286   The principal group under this head consists of aorist forms in -ṛṣ- or -riṣ-, from roots in r ¹ Only the first two variants concern a root (*car*) which regularly forms both s and iṣ aorists; on these see §206. Otherwise the variants are apparently rather phonetic than morphological in character; they concern *svarabhakti,* on which cf. Wackernagel

1. §§49-53, they will be dealt with in our chapter on Insertion and Expulsion of Vowels, in the section of this work on Phonetics They are of two sorts   Some concern roots which form aorists of the simple *s* type (Whitney's 4th aorist), in which an *i* is alternately inserted before the *s*.   The others concern roots of the *iṣ* type (Whitney's 5th aorist), from which the *i* is sometimes dropped by a kind of 'hyper-Sanskritism', the pronunciation *-riṣ-* seems to have been sometimes felt as dialectic and vulgar, and is occasionally 'restored' to *-rṣ-* by late texts in forms where *-riṣ-* is the only historically correct form, as in the Kauś. reading *tārṣat* for *tāriṣat*, below.   There are thus three divisions of these variations between *-rṣ-* and *-riṣ-·*

(a) From roots which form aorists in both *s* and *iṣ*

agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam (MS and MŚ. v 1 *acārṣam*) VS TS. MS KS † ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ HG

vratānām vratapate (Kauś *°patayo*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS *acārṣam*) MS TA Kauś

(b) From roots regularly forming only *s* aorist

dakṣam te bhadram ābhārṣam RV   *dakṣam ta ugram ābhāriṣam* AV   Most mss of AV agree on *ābhāriṣam*, tho the comm reads *ābhār-ṣam*, which the meter supports   No *iṣ* aorist of *bhṛ* is recorded

diteh putrānām aditer akārṣam (MS *akāriṣam*) AV MS   The verse is otherwise *jagatī*, so that probably *akāriṣam* is to be read in AV with many mss and SPP , Ppp , however, has *akārṣam*, and if *akāriṣam* is the true reading it is a matter of phonetics rather than morphology, no 5th aorist from *kṛ* is recorded

yad rātriyā (MahānU and v 1 of TA *°triyā*) *pāpam akārṣam* (TA v 1 *akāriṣam*, not recorded in Poona ed) TA MahānU   Cf. prec. The meter supports the regular form *akārṣam*

tan nah parṣad (MS *pariṣad*) *ati dviṣah* TS MS KS TB   (Read *pariṣad* twice in MS , m 2 7 12c von Schroeder reads *parṣad* against all his *saṃhitā* mss   Acc. to his note 1 c KapS also has *pariṣad*) The form *pariṣad* is metrically inferior and formally unprecedented (RV has *pāriṣat*)

(c) From roots regularly forming only *iṣ* aorist

pra na (SV. MS PB *na*) *āyūṃṣi tāriṣat* (Kauś *tārṣat*) RV AV SV VS VSK TS MS KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ Kauś N   The isolated form of Kauś (all mss) can only be an ignorant attempt to 'correct' the supposedly dialectic pronunciation with *i*   This is shown not only by the meter, but by the fact that a 4th aorist from

the dissyllabic root *tṛ* is monstrous and unheard of.   Cf. Wackernagel, 1 §53c. end.

āchettā te (TB. ApŚ *to) *mā riṣam* (KS *riṣat;* MS. *mārṣam*) TS MS. KS TB ApŚ MŚ   In MŚ also *mārṣam* should be read, with all Knauer's mss.   But the form is monstrous.   Strictly speaking it is a 2d (thematic) aorist, from the root *riṣ,* the *s* as well as the *i* being radical   But it belongs here as being an instance of hyper-Sanskritic pronunciation or *rṣ* for *riṣ.*

§287. There remain only a few cases, more or less dubious in character, which present the aspect of alternative loss or insertion of an 'intermediate *i*' in other cases than when preceded by *r* and followed by *ṣ*:

puru tvā dāśvān (SV. *dāśivān*) *voce* RV SV. N   Cf Whitney, *Grammar* §803a.   *dāśvāns* is frequently trisyllabic in RV.; Grassmann and Oldenberg assume that the *v* is vocalic.   The SV. here presents a secondary attempt to improve the meter

āpaprivān (MS. *°prvān,* but p p *°privān*) *rodasī antarikṣam* RV VS. TS. MS KS ŚB.   These may be regarded as from by-forms of the same root, *āpaprivān* is connected with *prā,* while the dubious nonce-form of MS , if correct, harks back to *pṛ,* which has no perfect active   The variation, if real, resembles the cases of Samprasārana mentioned §281.

rayaṁ rāṣṭre jāgṛyāma (KS MS *°mā;* TS and p p of MS *jāgriyāma*) *purohitāh* VS VSK. TS MS KS   The regular form of the opt. of *jāgṛ* is *jāgryāma*   This recalls not only the Samprasārana variants, like the preceding item, but also (since the following sound *y* may be suspected of being concerned in the insertion of the vowel *i*) the variants mentioned under 5, §§282f

[*utkraṅsyate* (KSA *utkramiṣyate*) *svāhā* TS. KSA   So Conc , but the sole ms. of KSA reads *utkrāmyate,* which von Schroeder properly emends to *utkraṅsyate*]

9 *Miscellaneous and unclassified strong and weak forms*

§288 Three cases which fall in nowhere else·

madhi ā yajñam nakṣati (VS TS *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV. *prai°*) AV VS. TS MS. KS   Ppp has *prīnānah* with the rest.

agne yat te tejas tena tam alejasam krnu (KS *tam prati tityagdhi,* MS ApŚ. *tam prati titigdhi*). AV. MS KS ApŚ. The strange *tityagdhi* of KS 6 9 (p 59,1 20) is supported by the present *pratityakti,* KS 7. 6 (p 68, l. 11)   It is an adventurous formation, on

the pattern, say, of *vdh vyadh*, possibly, however, a thought of
the root *tyaj* may have helped to form it

ajījapata (TS TB. *ajījpata*) *vanaspatayah* TS MS KS TB MŚ. Re-
duplicated (causative) aorists from the root *ji* 'conquer'; both, but
especially *ajījapata*, are highly anomalous.

Cf. also the variant causative stems listed §242, and denominatives,
§243.

CHAPTER X. PERSON AND NUMBER

Introductory remarks

§289. The very numerous variations in person and number of verb forms are superficially quite different in character from the other verbal variants. Yet fundamentally they resemble them more than appears at first sight. Like the rest, broadly speaking, they mark and illustrate temperamental fluidity, or shifts in psychological attitude. Thus, to begin with, an activity to be performed or a result to be obtained by the ritual action of a priest or sacrificer may be expressed by a verb in either first, second, or third person, and either singular or plural number For many variants alternatively conceive the result accomplished, or the action performed, either by the priest or sacrificer (who may be identified with the speaker, the verb being in the first person, or addressed in the second person as being an associate of the speaker), or by some natural or supernatural potency, agency, or implement, in which power resides or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which may be addressed in the second person or spoken of in the third   For instance, as the priest cleans various sacrificial implements, he says, addressing the implement. 'do not wipe off (from me) speech or cattle!', *rācam pašūn mā nir mārjīh* MS. MŚ.   But other texts, in precisely similar contexts, say· 'may it not wipe off', or 'may I not (by this action) wipe off', etc *rūpād rarnaṁ mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ : *vācaṁ prāṇaṁ   mā nir mṛkṣam* TS *rūpaṁ rarnam pašūnām mā nirmṛkṣam* ApŚ   The real meaning is essentially identical in all   A very considerable proportion of the variations between first person verbs, on the one hand, and second or third (or both) on the other, belong to this category in which the matter is credited now to the medicine-man or priest himself, now to an agency or potency, whether human, divine, or merely instrumental, which is associated with him and thru which he operates   See §§302, 304, 312

§290. As between first and second person, another important group contains variations in which the subject of the verb is really the same in either case, namely the priest or priests and his or their associates, who may be spoken of indifferently in the first or second person   See §307. Thus, in *mitrāya (satyāya) havyaṁ ghṛtavaj juhota (°vad vidhema)*, 'to Mitra (the true one) offer ye (let us offer) oblation with ghee', it makes not the slightest real difference whether the persons who are to offer

oblation are called 'we' or 'ye', both forms of the pāda occur in precisely the same stanza   Moreover, either or both of the verbs may in such cases be either singular or plural 'I' or 'we', 'thou' or 'ye '   Indeed, nearly all variations between first person singular and first person plural are cases of precisely this sort, see the long list in §345, of which the following may serve as an example *yad dhastābhyām cakara* (AV *cakṛma*) *kilbiṣāni* AV MS TB TA , 'if I (we) have committed sins with the two hands '   In such cases it is often impossible to say whether the plural expression really thinks of a group of individuals of whom the speaker is one, or whether it is 'editorial', referring really to none but the speaker himself.   In many cases, undoubtedly, the latter is true, nor is it at all necessary to suppose then that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is implied in the plural form, altho such may occasionally be the case   See §344 for a few instances where first plural verbs are certainly used referring to the single speaker alone, e g *śatam jīvema* (PG *ca jīvāmi*) *śaradah purūcīh* PG MG , which is spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil   may we (which means 'I', as in PG) live a hundred numerous autumns!'   Even MG has first singular verbs in the rest of the stanza where this pāda occurs —For a few similar cases of second person singular and plural, referring to associates of the priestly speaker, see §347, and for mixed cases (first singular and second plural, or vice versa) see §307, end, e g *tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota* (*juhomi*), 'to him, Indra, offer ye (I offer) the pressed drink '

§291 Another class of variations, involving both person and number, consists of generalizing statements, in which the subject is really indefinite, 'people' in general, 'one' (French *on*, German *man*)   Such expressions are usually third person, most commonly plural, but sometimes also singular, as in *brahmajāyeyam iti* (AV °*jāyeti*) *ced avocan* (AV °*cat*) RV AV , 'if they (indefinite) have (one has) said, she is a brahman's wife'" See §359 for others of this type   Such generalizing third persons also vary with 1st or 2d person forms, which are sometimes definite (as are some of the third person singulars which vary with indefinite third plurals), but sometimes also indefinite   Thus we have a 1st plural indefinite varying with a 3d plural, also indefinite, in *yathā kalām yathā śapham yatha ṛnam samnayāmasi* (AV *yatharnam samnayanti*), *evā duṣvapnyam sarvam āptye* (AV *apriye*, or *dviṣate*) *samnayāmasi* RV AV (bis), 'as we (= people in general, or, they) load up   a debt, so all the bad-dreaming we load up on (Trita) Āptya (or, the enemy) ' And even a singular form, 1st person as well as third, may be used in this indefinite sense *tam tvā bhaga sarva ij johavīmi* (RV VS

°*ti*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB., 'on thee, Bhaga, every one calls lustily', or, 'on thee, Bhaga, do every I call'. Whitney on AV. 3. 16. 5 renders mechanically 'do I call, entire', but obviously it can only mean 'do I and every one like me call', or the like; the surrounding pādas have 1st person verbs, and have influenced this. The TB. comm glosses *johavīmi* by *āhvayati*, which is by no means as foolish as it might seem at first sight, indeed, it may be called rather exceptionally acute —On the other hand it is commoner for definite 1st or 2d person forms to exchange with indefinite 3d persons, whether singular or (more often) plural, as in *vacānsy āsā* (SV *asmai*) *sthavirāya takṣam* (SV. *takṣuh*) RV SV, 'I (they = people in general) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (for this mighty one)'. Or, 2d person *yenendrāya samabharah* (MS KS °*ran*) *payānsi* AV TS MS KS, 'by which thou (= Agni) didst (or, they, indefinite, did) collect milk for Indra'. See §§314, 360

§292 Among the variations concerning Person, interchanges between 1st and 2d person are relatively rare, those between 1st and 3d are somewhat commoner, but by far the most numerous are those between 2d and 3d. The great majority of these last do not present any very startling features. Most commonly they simply concern shifts from direct address to a person or thing to indirect reference, in contexts where both are equally suitable. See §§327 ff. Not infrequently an entire stanza, containing several clauses, and several verb-forms, is remodelled in this way, so that we have a series of 2d person verbs varying with a series of 3d persons, as in.

navo-navo bhavati (AV JUB °*si*) *jāyamānah, ahnām ketur uṣasām ety* (AV † *eṣy*) *agram* (TS *agre*), *bhāgam devebhyo vidadhāty* (AV. °*sy*) *āyan, pra candramās tirate* (TS °*ti*, AV † °*mas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV AV TS MS KS N, first pāda also TB AŚ HG BDh JUB. VHDh, 'Ever new he becomes (thou becomest) born, as banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at the head of the dawns, arriving he shares (thou sharest) out fortune to the gods, the moon lengthens (thou, O moon, lengthenest) out long life'

§293 It will be noted that, consistently with the verbs, the subject here shifts from nominative to vocative when 2d person replaces 3d, and that the change is made with all verbs in the stanza. In the majority of cases the syntax is thus consistent in both 2d and 3d person passages. There remain, however, a good many passages where the change results in more or less inconsistency. Not seldom we find a third person verb with vocative subject. This occurs three times in the same stanza in the PG version of the following·

yena strıyam (PG *śrıyam*) *akṛṇutam* (PG *°tām*, ŚŚ. *strıyāv akurutam*), *yenāpāmṛśatam* (PG. *°vamṛśatām*) *surām*, *yenākṣān* (ŚŚ *°kṣām*, PG *°kṣyāv*) *abhyasıñcatam* (PG *°tām*), *yad vām tad aśvınā yaśah* ŚŚ PG SMB Here the direct address to the Aśvıns (note the 2d person pronoun *vām*, showıng that *aśvınā* can only be vocatıve) ın the fourth pāda makes the 3d person verbs unconstruable by strıct syntax   Naturally there ıs a temptatıon to emend ın such cases   But the thrıce repeated 3d person forms of PG seem to prove that such a temptatıon should not be yıelded to lıghtly   Stenzler quıte properly keeps the 3d persons ın hıs text of PG , altho he translates them as ıf they were 2d persons   The comm supplıes *bhavantau* as subject.   Harsh as the constructıon seems to us, ıt was clearly the readıng ıntended, and ıt ıs supported by many sımılar cases, lısted §332   In the same pages we fınd also cases of the converse condıtıon, namely, 2d person verbs wıth nomınatıve subjects, as ın

tā enam pravıdvānsau śrapayatam MS   *tāv ımam paśum śrapayatām pravıdvānsau* TB

Here only the TB ıs syntactıcally consıstent; not only the pronoun and adjectıve referrıng to the subject ın thıs pāda, but the noun subjects of *śrapayatam* ın the precedıng, are nomınatıve ın MS

§294 A mılder form of ınconsıstency ıs found ın the long lıst of passages found §333ff , where we fınd no ınternal ınconsıstency of the type just mentioned, as between subject and verb wıthın the same clause, but rather a shıft from dırect address to thırd-person reference (or vıce versa) ın parallel and adjoınıng passages   Thıs produces an effect of more or less harshness   It ıs not always, to our feelıng, so ıntolerable as ıt seems ın the SV readıng of the followıng

yat sānoh sānum āruhat (SV *sānv āruhah*) RV SV This ıs followed by the pāda *bhūry aspaṣta karıvam* 'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor ' The SV appears to say, 'When thou (Indra) dıdst mount from peak to peak and he (Indra) beheld much labor', unless, ındeed, we may suppose that SV understands *āruhah* as an anomalous verbal noun or adjectıve, dependıng on the subject of *aspaṣta* ('when, mountıng etc , he beheld etc ') But the occurrence of very many other cases where the parallelısm ıs broken almost or quıte as harshly justıfıes us ın supposıng that the shıft ın person was not too much for SV to tolerate

§295 Attention may be called here to a curıous detaıl whıch crops out among the varıants between 2d and 3d person. When the SV repeats a RV mantra contaınıng a verb of whıch the subject ıs Soma, ıt shows a marked tendency to replace a thırd-person ındırect reference

by a second-person direct address to Soma   For example, this occurs in each of the four pādas of the following stanza, the subject being appropriately made vocative instead of the nominative of the RV.:

agre sindhūnām pavamāno arṣati (SV. °*si*), *agre vāco agriyo goṣu gachati* (SV °*si*), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV °*se mahad dhanam*), *svāyudhah sotṛbhih pūyate vṛṣā* (SV °*bhih soma sūyase*) RV. SV.
And so in practically every case found among the Variants as between RV and SV in which the subject of the verb is Soma   In seven other cases besides the stanza just quoted the accompanying text is syntactically consistent in both cases, these are listed §328.   But in another half-dozen cases, listed §334, the second-person forms of SV. are more or less inconsistent with the context, which presents parallel third-person verbs even in SV   The reverse change of 2d to 3d person in verbs of which Soma is the subject is extremely rare in SV., and due to special reasons, see §335

§296 Among the variants concerning number, perhaps the most interesting are those in which a verb with singular subject is made dual or plural by a simple process of multiplication of the subject, or by inclusion within the subject of another entity or entities, or vice versa in either case.   The instances of the first type are grouped in §348 ff   They call for no comment, the following will serve as an example:

sundhantām lokāh pitṛṣadanāh VS MS KS ŚB MŚ · *sundhatām lokah pitṛṣadanah* TS ApŚ , 'let the worlds (or, world) where the fathers sit be purified '

For the second type see §§353 ff , the cases are somewhat less numerous, but still common enough, for example

āsīdantu (SV *āsīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB adds *varuno*) *aryamā* RV. SV VS TB

Followed by: *prātaryāvāno adhvaram*   The real subject in RV is the gods in general, *mitro aryamā* are merely examples, Sāyana, *yo mitro devo yaś cāryamā ye cānye prātaryāvānah   devāh* etc. The plural is here the original form, and the alteration is a case of subtraction or division rather than addition or multiplication of the subject.   Both SV. and TB were troubled by the seeming disagreement between verb and subject (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the construction, SV by making the verb singular, agreeing with the nearer subject, *mitro,* and TB by inserting *varuno* and thus providing three subjects instead of two for the plural verb, in defiance of the meter.

§297 Of great interest, tho of equally great rarity, are the cases (§358) in which a grammatically plural or dual subject (either a *plurale*

tantum, or more than one noun felt as constituting a single unit) is alter-
natively construed with a singular verb, because the subject is thought
of collectively as a unit:

   drupadād *na* *muñcatām* (TB °*tu,* so read with Poona ed) AV. TB
The subject is found in the preceding pāda, *bhūtam mā tasmād bhavyam
ca,* 'May what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a
post ' It would me mechanical and false to explain the singular verb of
TB as agreeing with the nearer subject *bhavyam,* as under the type men-
tioned last   Rather, the two subjects are felt in TB as forming a
single unitary concept

   §298 There remain, finally, a rather considerable number of shifts in
either person or number, or both, which are due to real syntactic recon-
structions of the passage involving change of subject   Either the
mantra may be applied in a different connexion, with a different sub-
ject for the verb, or the context may remain the same, but owing to an
internal reconstruction the subject may be different and may require a
different person or number   The following examples may serve to
illustrate these two types, as between second and third person, and be-
tween the various numbers, they are hardly capable of further subdivi-
sion, and will be found grouped in §§338–41, 361–71.   Most of the vari-
ants between first and second person, and between first and third, natur-
ally involve change of subject in so far as they include recognizable
groupings, attention has already been called to them.

   §299. First, cases in which the formula appears in different contexts
The first example is a pāda occurring in the RV. itself in no less than
four different stanzas, three of which are repeated in other texts, in
three of the four the verb is second person, the varying subject being
directly addressed in each; while in the fourth the subject is referred to
indirectly and the verb is therefore third person   The anomalous form
(*bhūtu*) of this last version shows that it is a secondary adaptation of one
of the others·

   asmākam edhy avitā rathānām (AV *tanūnām*) RV AV. SV. VS TS
MS KS · *asmākam bodhy av° ra°* RV . *as° bodhy av° tanūnām* RV. MS
TB TA MahānU.· *as° bhūtv av° ta°* RV AV. TA.; 'be thou (let him be)
aider of our chariots (our persons)!'

   Or, a case in which all three numbers, as well as second and third
persons, appear, each form being appropriate to its special context·

   sunoty ā ca dhāvati RV., 'he presses and adds water'; *sunuta ā ca
dhāvatah* RV , 'they two press and add water', *sunotā ca dhāvata* AV.
'press ye (plural) and add water!'

§300 Secondly, cases in which the context is essentially the same, but an internal reconstruction furnishes the verb with a different subject, requiring different person or number or both

ahar no atyapīparat MahānU SMB , 'the day has brought us across': *ahar mātyapīparah* AV , 'thou (O sun) hast brought me across the day.'

pibāt somam mamadad (AŚ ŚŚ *somam amadann) enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ , 'let him drink the soma, let it exhilarate him at the sacrifice (or, the sacrifices exhilarated him) '

ghṛtena dyāvāpṛthivī ā pṛnethām (MS MŚ *pṛna*, LŚ *prīnāthām*) TS. MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ 'O heaven and earth, be filled (gratified) with ghee', or, 'fill (O post) heaven and earth with ghee '

niṣkam iva prati muñcata (°*tām*) AV. (both) 'Fasten ye on (another) like a necklace', or 'let him fasten on himself like a necklace.' Here, and not infrequently, a change of voice goes with the change of person and number; see §30 Somewhat similarly, but without a change of voice, the verb is used in a different meaning in the following:

indram samatsu bhūṣata SV · *indrah samatsu bhūṣatu* RV AV Preceded by. *ā no viśvāsu havyah* (SV. °*yam*). 'Let Indra associate himself with us (SV , praise ye Indra), (Indra) who is to be invoked (of us) in every conflict '

§301. After these preliminary remarks, we now proceed to list the variants concerning Person and Number As usual thruout this work, we have followed the lines of practical convenience in classifying them, without being too much bound by formal and external schemes Thus, in the case of the Person variants, we have found it practicable to divide them first into the four natural groups of those which show (1) all three persons, (2) first and second persons, (3) first and third, and (4) second and third Cross-references from one group to another will enable the reader to bring together such subdivisions of each group as belong together But as regards the Number variants, such a primary division has seemed to us inadvisable, and our first division has been psychological rather than formal We begin with variations between first and second persons singular and plural as referring to the priests and their associates Next come cases in which the same subject appears as singular, dual, or plural, with accompanying change in number of the verb, and, following this, those in which a more inclusive subject varies with a less inclusive one (§296). After this we place the very few variations in which a singular verb goes with a subject felt as collective, tho formally dual or plural, and next the cases of generalizing plural and singular. Then come the variations in number due to change of subject

within the same context, then those due to change of subject involved
in a change of context, and finally a few cases which seem to involve
errors and corruptions with which little or nothing can be done Within
each of these groups, however, we have separated the variants which
occur into the natural formal subdivisions of singular and plural, dual
and each of the other numbers, and variations of all three numbers
Occasionally, and in so far as it seems desirable, we have also recognized
accompanying changes of person in our subdivisions

A VARIANTS CONCERNING PERSON

1 *Variants between all three Persons*

§302. (a) Most of these are of the sort mentioned in §289 above
Namely, they concern cases in which a result is conceived as accom-
plished either by the priest or sacrificer (first person), or alternatively by
some god, potency, agency, or implement, in which magic power resides
or is figuratively spoken of as residing, and which is either addressed (in
second person), or merely referred to (in third person) The consider-
able number of such variants, swelled by a still larger number in which
only first and second persons appear (§304), or only first and third
(§312), illustrates very interestingly this aspect of Vedic sacrificial
psychology Thus·

tvesam vaco apāvadhīt (TS TB °*dhīm*, MS °*dhīh*) VS TS MS KS
  ŚB TB   Preceded in all by. *yā te agne 'yāśayā* ('*yahśayā*)
  tanūr   'That   form of thine, O Agni   has driven away harsh
  words', or, '   (by it) I have driven away' or 'thou hast driven away'
  etc   Also· *ugram vaco* etc , see Conc.

Here the real agency is the same in either case, the practitioner oper-
ates thru an implement or a force which he controls, and it makes no
difference whether the activity is attributed to the one or the other
Similarly

vācam paśūn mā nir mārjīh MS MŚ   *vācam prānam   mā nir mṛkṣam*
  TS   *rūpād varnam mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ   *rūpam varnam paśūnām mā*
  nirmṛkṣam ApŚ   And other similar formulas in the same context
[*tam mā hiranyavarcasam* (RVKh *tena mām sūryatvacam*)] *karotu*
  (RVKh *akaram*) *pūruṣu priyam* (ApMB *pūruṣu priyam kuru*)
  ApMB. HG RVKh '(O name,) make me here of golden luster,
  beloved among the Pūrus!" or, 'let it (the name) make me' etc , or,
  'by it (the name) I have made myself sun-colored' etc
evam garbham dadhāmi (ApMB °*ti*) *te* ŚB BrhU ŚG ApMB HG

and (in different but related context) *evam tam* (ApMB   *tvam*) *gar-bham ādhehi* (ApMB   *ādhatsva*) RVKh ApMB MG., *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV   'Thus I fix (let him fix) the germ for thee', or, 'fix thou this germ.'   In the second version of ApMB , but only there, the woman is addressed· 'Receive thou the germ!' Note the middle voice, and see §30. In all the others the subject is either the practitioner (1st person) or some divine or magical potency (addressed in RVKh MG , referred to in 3d person in the first version of ApMB.)

mā devānām mithuyā-karma (TS *mithuyā kar,* MS *yūyupāma,* AŚ *momuhad,* AVPpp *yūyavad,* for *mi° karma) bhāgam* (AVPpp. TS. MS AŚ *bhāgadheyam*) AV AVPpp TS MS TB. AŚ. So to be read, see Whitney on AV 4 39 9   'May we (he, mayst thou) not cheat the share of the gods' or the like   TS *kar* is 2d person, with subject Agni who is addressed in the preceding pāda   Agni is also the subject of the 3d person forms of AVPpp AŚ , which have 3d person references to him in the preceding pāda.

pari nah pāhi (also *pātu,* and *pari mā pāhi) viśvatah* AV (all)   *pari tvā pāmi sarvatah* RVKh.   'Protect us (me, let him protect us, I pro-tect thee) on all sides '   In several different contexts

brahma tena punīhi nah (LŚ *mā,* KS VS *punātu mā,* MS. TB *punī-mahe)* RV VS MS KS TB. LŚ · *idam brahma punīmahe* TB : 'The charm (O Agni, that is in thy light), by that purify us (me; may we be purified) '   The first person is here due to shift to middle (passive) value, see §30.   The subject of the 3d person in VS KS. can only be Agni, tho the vocative remains in these texts, VS comm *bhavān punātu*   Cf §332

§303 (b) The rest are of different sorts, and can hardly be classified except as *vikāras* of one another adapted to different situations, the real, as well as the grammatical, subject is generally different, and to a large extent the formulas are used in different contexts   At most two of the three persons may refer to the same subject, as in the 1st and 2d person forms of the following, where the same individual speaks in one form of the variant and is addressed in the other (cf §308)

śatam jīvantu (AV * °*tah,* TB * ApŚ * MG. *jīvema,* AV.* SMB PG * ApMB * HG. *ca jīva,* PG * *ca jīvāmi) śaradah purūcīh (suvarcāh)* RV AV. VS ŚB. TB TA ApŚ SMB. PG. ApMB HG. MG. Somewhat complicated are the variations of this oft-repeated pāda, occurring in several texts more than once   It occurs in three stanzas, at least, which may be considered quite distinct from one

another   In one all texts read *jīvantu* and *purūcīh* except AV which has the correlative participle *jīvantah*. A second, reading *jīvema* and *purūcīh*, is found only in TB. ApŚ   The remaining occurrences seem all to concern variant forms of what is essentially the same stanza, sometimes two forms of it occurring in juxtaposition in the same text (as in ApMB 2 2 7 and 8)   It is used variously, at the marriage ceremony, at the *upanayana*, at the ceremony marking the close of studentship, and the verb is always 2d person (addressed to the bride or to the *brahmacārin*) except in PG 2 6 20 and MG 1. 9 27, where it is put into the mouth of the *brahmacārin*, see §308

uttame nāka iha mādayantām (MŚ °*yadhvam*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ *nākasya pṛṣṭhe sam iṣā madema* AV   Same context   In all but AV the subject is *devāh* in the preceding (voc in MŚ, nom in TS TB ApŚ, see §329)   In AV it is replaced by *devaih*, the subject being 'we'   'let (the gods) revel (O gods, revel ye) here in the highest heaven', or 'may we revel together (with the gods) with food on the back of heaven'

viśvam āyur vy aśnavat RV TS MS TB Kauś   *aśnavai* (AV °*vam*) AV. VS MS KS TB   *aśnutah* RV   *aśnutam* (AV * °*tām*) RV. AV. ApMB   In several different contexts, which account fully for the variations of both person and number

suprajāh prajayā bhūyāsam (ApMB * *bhūyās*) . VSK TS ApŚ HG ApMB . *suprajāh prajābhi(h) syām* (VS ŚB also *syāma*)   VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ   *supoṣah poṣaih   suprajāh prajayā syām* JB *supoṣah poṣaih syāt* . MS KS TB MŚ   In several different contexts

yad vo 'śuddhāh (VSK. °*ah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK *jaghānaitad*) *idam vas tac chundhāmi* VS VSK ŚB . *yad aśuddhah parājaghāna tad va etena śundhantām* KS . *yad vo 'śuddha ālebhe tañ śundhadhvam* MS See §30

mitrasya mā cakṣuṣā sarvāni bhūtāni samīkṣantām, mitrasyāham cakṣuṣā . samīkṣe, mitrasya cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe VS (all, in same passage, the subject of *samīkṣāmahe* is reciprocal and includes *sarvāni bhūtāni*) *mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe*, and *samīkṣadhvam* MS (in same passage)   And others, see Conc under *mitrasya vaś, mitrasya tvā*

tena tvāyuṣāyuṣmantam karomi TS PG ApMB   *tasyāyam* (and, *teṣām ayam*) *āyuṣāyuṣmān asiv asau* KS   *tenāyuṣāyuṣmān edhi* MS

2. *Variants between First and Second Person*

§304. (a) We find under this head, first, a considerable group of the type described above in §§289, 302, in which the action or result is conceived as brought about sometimes by the priest or sacrificer (first person), sometimes by a divine or natural or supernatural agency or implement, which is addressed in the second person   Thus:

ṛtenāsya nivartaye (MŚ °*ya*), *satyena parivartaye* (MŚ. °*ya*) TB ApŚ. MŚ. 'By his divine order do I (thou, addressing the razor) return, by his truth do I (thou) move about '   Spoken in the shaving ceremony, while wielding the razor

The potency addrest or referred to is not always clearly indicated; we have seen this illustrated in some of the similar variants of all three persons, and shall find the same in not a few of the following ones, as for instance in this

(pari   ) mahe kṣatrāya (also: *śrotrāya*) *dhattana* AV : *(pari   ) mahe rāṣṭrāya* (also *śrotrāya*) *dadhmasi* HG   'Wrap ye (we wrap) [him] unto great kingship' or the like   In AV. apparently addrest to undefined gods

vi mimīṣva payasvatīm ghṛtācīm AV : *vi mime tvā payasvatīṁ devānām* TB ApŚ   'Measure thou (Rohita seems to be addrest) the milk-rich, ghee-full (cow)', or 'I measure thee out, the milk-rich (cow) of the gods.'

payo divy antarikṣe payo dhāh (TS. *dhām*) VS TS. MS KS. 'Milk do thou place (sc for me, acc to VS. comm Agni is addrest) in the sky, in the air', or, 'may I place' etc

ava devair devakṛtam eno 'yakṣi (TS KS. TB. '*yāt*) VS. TS KS ŚB. TB · .'*yāsiṣam* VS ŚB LŚ · *ava no devair devakṛtam eno yakṣi* MS. 'I have (thou—[O bath]—hast) removed by sacrifice the god-wrought sin by the gods '   Similarly (but in different context): *ava devānām yaja hedo agne* (KS *yaje hidyāni*, MŚ. *yaje hedyāni*) AV KS MŚ   *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ : *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ 'remove thou (I remove) by sacrifice the anger of the gods, O Agni', or the like.

vācam te mā hinsiṣam KS   *vācam asya mā hinsīh* MS   And so with *cakṣuh, caritrān, śrotram,* and others   At the slaughtering of an animal 'may I not harm thy voice etc ', or 'harm not his voice etc ', addressing the animal, or the instrument of slaughter.

garbhān (sc *prīnāmi*) Vait : *garbhān prīnīhi* ApŚ 'I gratify (, or, gratify thou—addrest to the spoon or the remnants eaten from it) the embryos '

ava bādhe pṛtanyatah (ApŚ °*tā*) MS ApŚ . *ava bādhasva pṛtanāyataḥ* PG

yāh paśūnāṃ ṛṣabhe vācas tāh sūryo agre śukro agre tāh prahinomi (ApŚ. °*hinvo*) . MS ApŚ 'These I send forth', or 'these send thou forth' (addressed to the sun? see Caland on ApŚ. '0 12 4)

apārarum adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanā (ApŚ *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ *apārarum pṛthivyai devayajanād badhyāsam* VS ŚB 'Drive away (I would drive away) Araru' etc

śucim te (SV *ca*) *varnam adhi goṣu dīdharam* (SV *dhāraya*) RV SV In SV. addressed to Soma, who is addressed in the preceding in RV. also

sarvam tam bhasmasā (TS ŚB *masmasā*) *kuru* VS TS ŚB . *sarvāns tān maṣmaṣā* (MS † *nṛsmṛsā*) *kuru* MS KS † TA *sarvān ni maṣmaṣū-karam* AV 'Every one I have smashed (smash thou)', or the like

manasaspata imam deva yajñam (KS *devayajñam svāhā vāci*) *svāhā vāte dhāh* VS KS ŚB . *manasaspata imam no divi deveṣu yajñam, svāhā divi svāhā pṛth vyām svāhāntarikṣe svāhā vāte dhām svāhā* AV *manasaspata 'mam no deva deveṣu yajñam svāhā vāci svāhā vāte dhāh* TS. *manasaspate sudhātv imam yajñam divi deveṣu vāte dhāh svāhā* MS The AV version is harsher, the voc *manasaspate* requires a 2d person verb, which has to be supplied in AV

stotāram id didhiṣeya (SV. *dadhiṣe*) *radāvaso* RV SV. Similar to prec , here SV. has a lectio facilior.

With change of number as well as person ·

ra tvā (KŚ *mā*) *muñcāmi* (RV.* *pra no muñcatam*) *varunasya pāśāt* RV (both) AV AŚ KŚ AG ApMB Dual addressed to Soma-Rudra

am (TS KS add *vah*) *suprītam subhṛtam akarma* (KS *abhārṣam*, VS °*tam bibhṛta*) VS TS KS 'This (embryo) we (I) have made pleasant, well-maintained for you', or 'maintain ye' etc

nih kravyādam nudāmasi (MS. *nudasva*) AV MS *niṣ kravyādam sedha* VS TS KS ŚB TB. ApŚ In AV , 'we drive out the flesh-eating (fire)', in YV addressed to Agni Different contexts

bharatam uddharem anuṣiñca (MŚ *uddharema vanuṣanti?* doubtful text) TB ApŚ MŚ Addressed to the cake (*purodāśa*) at the darśapūr-namāsa TB comm understands *uddhara īm* (= *imam*), and Caland on ApŚ follows him, *bharatam* means the *yajamāna* according to comm , according to Caland possibly Agni Both variants are doubtful

tayā mā samsṛjāmasi HG ApMB *tayā mām indra sam sṛja* RVKh 'With it (*lakṣmī*) we unite me', or 'with it unite me, O Indra '

tābhır ā vartayā punah TS. ApMB : *tābhya enā nı vartaya* RV † : *tābhyas tvā vartayāması* KS. 'By (from) them brıng them (we brıng thee) back'

§305. Sometımes the change between first and second person accompanıes, and ıs condıtıoned by, a change between actıve and mıddle or passıve voıce, or between causatıve and prımary verb-forms   These wıll be found easıly from the lısts recorded above ın §§30, 83ff , 238f ; ıt ıs hardly necessary to repeat them here, as examples we may quote

agne dakṣaıh punīhı nah (TB *mā*, MS. *punīmahe*) RV. MS TB 'O
    Agnı, purıfy us (me; may be become pure) by thy power''

samjīvā (AŚ * ApŚ *°vıkā*) *nāma stha tā ımam* (AŚ *ımam amum*) *samjīva-
    yata* MS. AŚ ApŚ · *samjīvā stha samjīvyāsam* AV 'Ye are enlıven-
    ıng (by name), do ye make thıs man lıve', or 'may I lıve'

§306. In some other cases we find essentıally the same psychology, but wıth a slıghtly dıfferent turn ın formal expressıon; as when a phrase of MS ,

bhūyānso bhūyāsta ye no bhūyaso 'karta, 'be ye more, who have made us more',

ıs (as ıt were) glossed by the varıant of Kauś ,

bhūyāṇso bhūyāsma ye ca no bhūyasah kārṣta, 'may we be more, and lıkewıse ye who have made us more '   (Also the same texts wıth *an-nādā bhūyāsta* etc.)

The real poınt ıs, 'may we be more!' ın both cases alıke; but thıs is defınıtely stated ın only one form of the varıant, whıle in the other (MS) the desıred result ıs nomınally wıshed upon the agency used. Cf. wıth 1st and 3d persons, §313 below. Sımılarly ın the next subject and ındırect object exchange places, wıthout real dıfference of meanıng.

trīny āyūnṣı te 'karam (JUB *°ṣı me 'kṛnoh*) AV. JUB. Addressed to an
    amulet   'Three lıves have I made for thee', or '   . hast thou
    made for me', the last ıs, of course, the real ıntentıon even ın AV

ādıtya nāvam āruḳṣah (SMB *āroḳṣam*) AV SMB . *ımām su nāvam
    āruham* TS KS ApŚ *sūrya nāvam āruḳṣah* AV . *sunāvam āru-
    heyam* VS   'O Sun, I have mounted (may I mount, mount thou)
    faırly upon a shıp', or the lıke

The ısolated AV readıng (even Ppp has 1st person forms both tımes) is curıous, and can hardly mean anythıng fundamentally dıfferent from the others, ıt ıs explaıned by the other varıants ın thıs sectıon.   The comm on AV. optıonally allows the 2d person to be ınterpreted as 1st person (!)

sannān māvagām (ApŚ *°gāta*) MS ApŚ MŚ 'May I not go (go ye
    not) to those that are sunk.' Addressed to the sacrıfıcıal posts.

sūryasya ꞇak̬ꞷur *āruham* (VS *āroha*) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ MŚ
'I have mounted (mount thou) the eye of the sun.'

payasvān (°*vāṅ*) *agna āgamam* (RV. *āgahi*) RV. AV VS. TS MS KS.
JB. ŚB. TB LŚ. ApMB. 'With milk, O Agni, I have come (come
thou).' The context is the same, and the 'milk' is in either case
for the benefit of the speaker

deva tvaṣṭar vasu rama (TS. *ranva*, KS. *rana*, MS *raṇe*) VS. TS. MS. KS.
ŚB.

svargāṅ (AŚ corruptly *svagāṅ*, Vait. *svargam*) *arvanto jayata* (Vait
jayema; AŚ. *jayatah* [!]) SV AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait 'Conquer ye, swift
(steeds, *rājino*, pāda a) heaven!' or 'may we swiftly conquer heaven!'
Vait. is obviously secondary but probably gives the real sense of
the other, original reading. On AŚ. see §250. In AŚ follows an
alternative form of the pāda, *svargāṅ arvato jayati*, which the comm.
says is designed to indicate that either *arvanto* or *arvato* may be read;
he does not notice the difference in the last word In fact, *jayati*
and (dual) *jayatah* are equally unconstruable.

§307. (b) We come next to a quite different group of first and second
person variants, namely those in which both forms alike refer really to
the same individuals, viz. the priests or their associates, including the
yajamāna with whom they frequently and naturally identify themselves
in speech   See §290 above   As is well known, the ritualists may say
either 'we' or 'you', about equally well, in speaking of themselves and
their fellows   Singular forms, especially of the first person, are also
not rare, cf below, §§344ff , 347, for variants between first singular and
plural, and second singular and plural, in this sense   In this place we
list such of these variants as concern either person alone, or both person
and number, beginning with those between first and second person
plural.

mitrāya (TS. KS * TB ApŚ. *satyāya*) *havyam ghṛtavaj juhota* (TS KS
°*vad vidhema*) RV TS KS. TB ApŚ. MŚ N   See §290. The
next is really a mere *vikāra* of this

tasmā u havyom ghṛtavad vidhema (ŚŚ ŚG. °*vaj juhota*) TS. ŚŚ ŚG
ApMB · *dhātra id dhavyam ghṛtavaj juhota* AŚ   Dhātar is meant
by *tasmai*

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu* AV.
KS ApŚ . *athā syāta surabhayo gṛheṣu* MS. 'Then may we be
(be ye) fragrant in the house'   AV has different context from the
others

atra (ŚB. *atrā*) *jahīmo 'sivī ye asan* VS. ŚB . *atrā jahāma* (AV *jahīta*) *ye*

asánn aśeváh (AV. *aśwáh*, and *asan durəváh*) RV. AV. (bis) TA
'Here (may) we quit (quit ye) those that may be unpropitious'

mṛtyoh padam (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto yad aita* (TA. *aima*; AV. *yopay-*
anta eta, MG. *lopayante yad eta*) RV. AV. TA. MG   (Read prob-
ably *etad* in MG)

yathā me bhūrayo 'sata AV.· *yathāsāma jīvaloke bhūrayah* TA.   The AV.
form is very doubtful, mss '*satah*, both edd. '*sata;* comm. also '*sata*,
glossing *syāta*, as if the form were *asatha*, 2d plural subj

pāpmānam te 'pahanmah KŚ.· *pāpmānam me hata* (Kauś. '*pa jahi*) MG.
Kauś

anadvāham anv ārabhāmahe VS. VSK. TA . *anadvāham plavam anv*
ārabhadhvam AV MG   In different contexts

iṣam madantah pari gām nayadhvam (AV *nayāmah*) RV AV MG
First and second person singular.

hṛdā matim janaye (VS KS TB. °*ya*) *cārum agnaye* RV. VS MS KS.
TB ApŚ.   'I produce (produce thou) with the heart a lovely hymn
to Agni'

tena te vapāmy āyuṣe MG.. *tenāsyāyuṣe vapa* ApMB. See §124. The
first form is addressed to the boy who is shaved, the second to the
officiating priest who shaves   This might be classed with the follow-
ing subdivision

sakhyāt te mā yoṣam TB ApŚ. ApMB HG.: *sakhyam te mā yoṣāh*
SMB   See §168   A reciprocal relation is here expressed in both
cases 'may I not be separated from thy friendship', or 'do not
withhold thy friendship (from me)'

indro vide tam u stuṣe (Mahānāmnyah *stuhi*) AA. Mahānāmnyah   See
§165   To be classed here if *stuṣe* is first person, as Keith takes it
With change of number·

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK MS KS.
ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ.   Followed by.

tasmai sūryāya sutam ā juhota (ApŚ *juhomi*) MS KS ApŚ. MŚ.

viśvān devāns tarpayata (BDh *tarpayāmi*) TB BDh.

Somewhat similar is the following variant between first dual and
second singular·

sakhāyau saptapadāv abhūva (ApMB corruptly, °*padā babhūva*, cf
Winternitz, p xvi f) ApMB HG   *sakhā saptapadī* (ApMB °*dā*)
bhava AG. ŚG. Kauś ApMB SMB   The first is spoken by the
bridegroom, referring to himself and the bride, the second is ad-
dressed to the bride alone. See §367

§308 (c) We come next to a group in which the same person is the

subject of both 1st and 2d personal forms, but in one he is represented
as speaking, while in the other he is spoken to   We have met this type
already, §303, and a similar interchange is found between 1st and 3
persons, below, §316f. Thus.

parīdam vājy ajinam (PG. °*dam vājinam*) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *ajinam
dhatsvāsau*) ŚG. PG HG ApMB   'I put (put thou) on this skin
with vigor' or the like   In HG spoken by the *guru* to his pupil
in the others, by the pupil himself

prānasya brahmacāry asi (ApMB *asmi,* HG *abhūr asau*) AG HG
ApMB MG   Exactly like preceding, here spoken by the pupil
only in ApMB

marutām (MS *sapatnahā ma°*) *prasave jeṣam* (MS *jaya*) TS MS TB
ApŚ   'On the impulse of the Maruts may I conquer (conquer
thou) '   The subject is the king at the *rājasūya*, who speaks in TS
etc , while in MS he is spoken to   In a way this might be classed
with the preceding group, the king being the *yajamāna,* cf the variant
tena te vapāmy āyuṣe, tenāsyāyuṣe vapa, quoted above, which may
be said equally to belong here   Other forms, see §§158, 370

syonām āsadam suṣadām āsadam LŚ. *syonām āsīda suṣadām āsīda* VS
TS. MS. KS ŚB TB KŚ ApŚ MŚ   'I have sat (sit thou) on
(a throne that is) fair, (that is) a pleasant seat '   Apparently ad-
dressed to, or spoken by, the king at the *rājasūya*

śatam jīvāmi (MG. *jīvema,* AV ApMB HG *ca jīva*) *śaradah purūcīh*
AV. ApMB PG HG MG (and others similar, see §303), followed
directly in PG MG and once in AV by the following, which occurs
in a similar context in the others also·

rāyaś ca poṣam upasamvyayasva AV HG ApMB   *rayim ca putrān
anusamvyayasva* PG . *rāyas poṣam abhi samvyayiṣye* PG MG   In
the PG MG form of these two pādas, the graduate brahman-
pupil speaks in person; in the others he is addressed

samitam samkalpethām VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ MG . *sam ayāva sam
kalpāvahai* ApMB   Here a formula belonging originally to the
śrauta sphere (addressed to two fires, cf Keith on TS 4 2 5 1) is
secondarily applied in two *gṛhya* texts, MG and ApMB. In the
former it is addressed without change to the bride and groom by
the officiating priest in the marriage rite, while in ApMB it is spoken
by the bridegroom, of himself and the bride.

samnahye (KS °*hya*) *sukṛtāya kam* TS KS TB ApŚ MŚ. ApMB :
samnahyasvāmṛtāya kam AV   The bride (AV ApMB) or the
sacrificer's wife (the others) speaks or is addressed 'I gird myself
(gird thyself) unto goodness (immortality) '   On KS , see §30

§309 (d) Of the few remaining first and second person variants little need be said For the most part they are simply cases in which a phrase is adapted to a wholly new context, and provided therefore with a wholly different subject In the first pair of variants we have in one form a deliberate *vikāra* of the other, in adjoining passages:

ati dhanveva tān iht RV AV. SV. VS.: *dadhanveva tā iht*, followed by·
      nidhanveva tān imi TA 1 12 2d (both)   And in the same stanza.

yāhi (TA also *yāmi*) *mayūraromabhih* RV. AV SV VS TA   The second version (in 1st person) of TA is deliberately modelled on the first (in 2d person)   Note the anomalous form *imi*, for *emi* (which the meter forbids), under the influence of *iht*

No less surely, in the following variant, is the MS. form secondarily adapted from the original (as in RV.) to fit its wholly new context, while TA., altho it has the same new context as MS , retains or restores the original form of the verb as in the different context of RV :

atāriṣma (MS. °*ṣṭa*) *tamasas pāram asya* RV MS KS TA. ApŚ. In MS TA the preceding pāda is: *vimucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA °*nıyā*) *devayānāh:* 'be released, O cattle, going to the gods, ye (TA we, under the influence of the original form) have crossed to the farther shore of this darkness ' In RV. KS the context is wholly different

§310 In the next we are reminded of the cases listed in the preceding subdivision, but here the subject is changed, the context being a different one, a god speaks of himself in one variant, while two gods are addressed in the other. See on this point Bloomfield's important observation, *RVRep* 384. 'We may perhaps accept it as a general principle, that in hymns in which a god speaks for himself, repeated pādas, which are otherwise attributed by the poets to a god in the 2d or 3d person, are secondary and epigonal ' If this is so, the 1st person form in the following would be secondary·

yat sunvate yajamānāya śikṣathah (*śikṣam*) RV (both)

§311 Of the rest it is unnecessary to speak in detail, they contain changes of person to suit very miscellaneous contexts

vajro 'si (MŚ *hāsmi*) *sapatnahā* Kauś MŚ

sūryasyāvṛtam anvāvarte (SMB GG *anvāvartasvāsau*) AV. VS KS ŚB SMB GG

indrasya sakhyam amṛtatvam aśyām (RV. *ānaśa*) RV TB ApŚ. 2d pl perf in RV

sajātānām madhyamasthā edhi (AV. *madhyameṣṭhāh;* MS KS °*meṣṭhe-yāya*) AV. VS TS MS. KS   *saj*° *madhyameṣṭhā yathāsāni* AV.

3 Variants between First and Third Person

§312 (a) Here again we find a considerable number of cases in which the statement of something effected by the speaker (expressed in 1st person) varies with a statement of the same thing as effected by the potency on which he relies, which in this case is expressed in the third person, the potency being not addressed directly; cf above, §§289, 302, 304.

udgrābhenod agrabhīt (MS *ajgrabhat;* KS *ajgrabham,* and *ajgrbham*) VS TS MS KS. ŚB. 'With elevation he (Indra) has elevated me', or ' I have elevated myself' The context is the same, and Indra's instrumentality is implied also in KS

tāh sam tanomi (TS. MS. ApŚ *dadhāmi,* KS *dadhātu*) *haviṣā* (MS. *manasā*) *ghrtena* TS MS KS AŚ. KŚ ApŚ 'These (offerings) I unite (let him, in KS. Viśvakarman, unite) with oblation, with ghee ' The passages are similar, tho not exactly identical, and 1st or 3d would go well enough in all.

tau yuñjīta (AV. *yokṣye*) *prathamau yoga āgate* AV SV. 'Them (Indra's arms) let him (I shall) yoke first' etc

preto muñcāmi (AG ŚG SMB MG *muñcātu,* PG. *muñcaiu,* ApMB *muñcāti*) *nāmutah* (ŚG MG. SMB † *māmutah,* PG *mā pateh*) RV AV. AG ŚG SMB. PG. ApMB MG Two different contexts one in RV. AV. ApMB , followed by

subaddhām amutas karam (ApMB. *karat*) RV AV.ApMB 'I release (lie, i e some god, shall release) her (the bride) from here, not from there, I have (he has) made her well-fastened there ' In the other (GS) texts, the subject of the verb is Aryaman or Pūṣan, previously mentioned, so, perhaps, ApMB is to be interpreted A related but still different formula, *ito mukṣīya māmutah* (ApŚ *mā pateh*) VS ŚB ApŚ , is spoken (in a different context) by the bride herself, hence medio-passive, see §30.

idam asmākam bhuje bhogāya bhūyāt (MŚ *bhūyāsam*) KS ApŚ MŚ 'May this be (may I be here) for enjoyment and feasting unto us ' MŚ doubtless secondary.

abhi tvā varcasāsicam (AV. °*siñcan,* read °*sican,* see Whitney on 4 8. 6) AV KS TB Followed in AV by *āpo divyāh payasvatīh,* in KS. TB. by *divyena* (KS *yajñena*) *payasā saha,* Ppp agrees with TB The preceding stanza ends in āll *abhiṣiñcāmi varcasā,* perhaps KS. TB. have altered the original under the influence of this, but the Ppp version makes it doubtful whether the AVŚ can contain the original form of the pāda 'I have (the waters have) poured out

nir mā muñcāmi śapathāt LŚ ApŚ . *muñcantu mā śapathyāt* RV. AV.
VS 'Let (the herbs) free me from the (effect) of the curse': 'I free
myself from the curse.'

mama vrate te hṛdayam (AG ŚG *vrate hṛdayam te) dadhāmi* (SMB. MG.
dadhātu) AG ŚG. SMB PG MG 'In my power I set (let him,
se some god, set) thy heart ' See Conc for other, vaguer, parallels

annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat Kauś *annādam annādyāyādadhe* (KS
annādyāyān ıapatyāyādadhe) TS KS . *annādam agnim annapa-
tyāyādadhe* MS · *annādam tvānnapatyāyādadhe* AŚ · *agnim annā-
dam annādyāyādadhe* VS The subject in Kauś is apparently Aditi,
who is addressed in the others also, they all have 1st person verbs,
of which the priestly speaker is of course the subject.

pāvamānasya tvā stomena viryenot sṛje MS *pāvamānena tvā stomena
viryena devas tvā savitot sṛjatu* (KS *viryenoddharāmy asau*) TS.
KS

bṛhatā tvā rathamtarena viryenod dhare (KS *viryenotsṛjāmy asau*) MS
KS *bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena savitot sṛjatu* . TS

prajām asyai jcradaṣṭim kṛṇotu (and, *kṛṇomi*) SMB (both). Subject
of *kṛṇotu* is Agni

sa pūrvyo nūtanam āvivāsat (SV *āṇgīṣam*) AV SV. Subject of the 3d
person is the sun, Conc suggests that SV should read *āṇgīṣat*, and
this would certainly be simpler

sam ākūtīr namāmasi (MS *anansata*) RVKh AV MS

garbham sravantam agadam akah (AŚ *akarma*) TB. ApŚ AŚ · *ukhām
(ApŚ *garbham*) *sravantīm agadām akarma* (KŚ *aganma*) KŚ MŚ
ApŚ Followed in next pāda by a series of names of gods, in most
texts in the nominative (e g *agnir hotā pṛthivy antarıkṣam* AŚ.
ApŚ *, agnir indras tvaṣṭā bṛhaspatih* TB ApŚ *) *akah* is 3d sing ,
the subject being the following *agnir* (not all the following nouns
collectively, as TB comm says). The reading with *akarma* may
be rendered. 'We have made whole the slipping embryo (fire-pot, or,
her that drops the embryo),—(and also) Agni, Indra, etc (have made
it, or her, whole) ' Caland on ApŚ 9 18 12 assumes, apparently,
that *akarma* corruptly represents a 3d person, but this is neither
necessary nor likely

rūpād varnam (ApŚ *rūpam varnam paśūnām) mā nirmṛkṣat* (ApŚ *°kṣam*),
[see §302,] followed by

vāji tvā sapatnasāham sam mārṣti (ApŚ *mārjmi*) ApŚ MŚ. After these
two formulas comes the command *ıti sammārṣti*, in MŚ 1. 2 5 7,
see Knauer's note Knauer speaks of 'stellvertretende Spruchrecita-

tion', that is, he supposes that the formulas are recited by another priest than the one who does the cleansing   The simple command *ih sammārṣh* seems to make this improbable, and we prefer to think that it is spoken by the same priest, but that, as in so many other similar formulas, he attributes the effect to the instrument of cleansing, instead of to himself. 'It shall not wipe off' etc   So in the following, where MŚ (altho its mss vary, and in one case they read 1st person) seems to have regularly had a 3d person (or at least so Knauer thinks):

agne vājajid   sam mārjmi   VS ŚB TB ApŚ Vait.   *ājim lvāgne sammārṣh* MŚ   (two formulas, see Conc)   In one case all MŚ mss agree on *°mārṣh*

§313 As in the case of 1st and 2d persons (§306), this group is swelled by some cases in which the activity or result is, in one variant, nominally attributed to the instrumental potency rather than the speaker

so 'mṛtalvam aśiya (VSK. *aśyāt*) VŚ. VSK. MS ŚB. ŚS   'May I (he) attain immortality.'   The subject in VSK. is apparently understood as Varuna

upānśunā sam amṛtatvam ānaṭ (ApMB *aśyām*) RV VS MS. KS TA AŚ. ApMB MahānU.   'Thru soma it gained (may I gain) immortality'   The original subject is *ūrmir madhumān*, the ApMB has a facile and slipshod alteration

pañca (AV. *trīni*) *padāni rupo* (AV. *rūpo*) *anv aroham* (AV. *°haṭ*), *catuṣpadīm anv emi* (AV. *aitad*) *vratena; akṣareṇa prati mima etāṃ* (AV *mimīle arkam*), *rtasya nābhāv adhi* (AV *abhi*) *sam punāmi* (AV *°ti*) RV. AV.   An obscure verse in an obscure hymn, used in RV in the *havirdhāna*, in AV in the funeral rites, see Oldenberg, *RV. Noten*, ad 10 13. 3   In RV. the subject is probably the *hotar* (Oldenberg), at any rate the same as in the first-person verbs of the preceding verse, in AV it is probably Yama as in the following verse.

gāyatrena chandasā pṛthivīm anu vi krame TS   *pṛthivyām* (KS *°vīm*) *viṣnur* (MS *viṣnuh pṛthivyām*) *vyakransta gāyatrena chandasā* VS MS KS ŚB ŚS.   And the same with *traiṣṭubhena   antarikṣam* etc , and *jāgatena   divam* etc

Here would belong the following, if the TA version were to be accepted as a 1st person form:

pra tad voced amṛtasya (VS *amṛtam‿nu*, TA MahānU *voce amṛtam nu*) *indvān* AV. VS TA MahānU   In AV 'may he (Gandharva), knowing of the immortal, proclaim ' On *voce* see §174   It seems that only a 3d person form can be intended here, so the TA comm , *prováca*, evidently thinking of *ūce,* 3d sing perfect middle

§314 (b) We referred above (§291) to the fact that third personal forms, either plural or (less often) singular, are frequently used in a generalizing sense, equivalent to French *on*, German *man;* and to the further fact that first person plurals sometimes vary with them in this same sense (and even, once, a first person singular). In the first cases about to be presented both 1st and 3d persons seem to be generalizing or indefinite:

[*yathā kalām yathā śapham*] *yatha ṛnam samnayāmasi* (AV. *yatharnam samnayanti*), [*evā duṣvapnyam sarvam āptye* (AV. *apriye*, or *dviṣate*) *samnayāmasi*] RV. AV (bis)   See §291.

[*yat kim cedam varuna daivye jane*] *abhidroham manuṣyāś carāmasi* (AV. *caranti*) RV. AV TS MS. KS 'Whatever here, O Varuna, men (we humans) practise that is hostile to the god-folk.' AV. is less appropriate metrically.

yām (PG. *yā*, KS MG *ye*) *tvā* (PG *tām*) *rātry* (PG MG *rātrīm*) *upāsate* (AV. PG *upāsmahe*, SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*) AV. TS. KS SMB PG. MG. Preceded by *samvatsarasya pratimām* (PG °*mā*) 'Thee whom, O night, we (they, both indefinite) revere as the image of the year', or the like.

Perhaps here belongs the following·

pra tve havīnṣi juhure (KS *juhumas*) *samiddhe* (MS. *tve samiddhe juhure havīnṣi*) RV. VS TS. MS KS. ŚB.   The form *juhure* (see §77) may be taken as middle with indefinite subject, 'they offer oblations in thee when kindled' (so Keith on TS.), or as passive with *havīnṣi* as subject, 'oblations are offered', much less likely as a 1st sing. with Ludwig   The KS reading, 'we offer oblations', favors the first interpretation

And, once at least, even singular forms are used in the same way: *tam tvā bhaga sarva vj johavīmi* (RV. VS °*ti*) RV AV. VS TB. ApMB. · See §291

§315 The rest are generalizing only in the 3d person form, while the 1st person (always singular) is perfectly definite   In the first couple of variants the indefinite 3d person is singular, in all the rest plural

tān ādityān anu madā (MS. *madāt*) *svastaye* RV. MS. If *madā* is 1st singular subjunctive: 'I will (one shall) revel (? revel thou) to the Adityas unto welfare.' But MS. p.p. reads *mada* (2d sing. impv), 'revel thou', which would make this variant belong in §307, or §261, according as RV. *madā* be taken as 1st or 2d person.

[*yadi jāgrad yadi svapann*] *ena enasyo 'karam*, [*bhūtam mā tasmād bhavyam ca drupadād iva muñcatām*] AV.. [*yadi divā yadi naktam*] *ena enasyo*

'*karat*, [*bhūtam* .*muñcatu*] (so read with Poona ed) TB 'If waking or sleeping I, sinful, have committed sin (if by night or day a sinful person has committed sin), may what has been and what is to be free me from that as from a log.' TB. comm *kṛtavān asmi* for *akarat*' Note also *mā* in TB., there is no doubt that TB. like AV really means to refer to the speaker's own sin. But by a touch of sly squeamishness the TB dodges the incriminating first-personal verb, and speaks of himself as if he didn't know who was meant, 'some one or other'!

yat tvā (KS *te*) *kruddhah parovapa* (KS. ms °*vāpa*, 3d person, which may be kept!, AV. *kruddhāh pracakruh*) AV. TS. MS. KS ApŚ MŚ 'If I, angry (if an angry man, or angry men) have thrown thee out '

na vi jānāmi (AB. *jānanti*) *yatarat* (AV °*rā*) *parastāt* AV. AB. JB 'I (they = people in general) do not know which is superior ' (In AV. different context from the others)

apām rasam udayansam (TA °*san*) KS TA Comm. on TA *sarve lokā udgatāh*.

prākto apācīm anayam tad enām AV : *prācīm avācīm ava yann ariṣyat* TA The 3d plural of TA can only be indefinite; comm *vayam avaimo jānīmah!*

vacānsy āsā (SV. *asmai*) *sthavirāya takṣam* (SV. *takṣuh*) RV. SV. 'I (they) have fashioned songs for the mighty (Indra) before his face (or, for this mighty one).'

atrā te rūpam uttamam apaśyam (VSK °*yan*) RV VS VSK TS KSA. 'Here I (they = people) have beheld thy highest form ' To the sacrificial horse in YV. In the stanza before this·

śiro apaśyam (VSK °*yan*) *pathibhih sugebhih*, same texts—But the VSK. reading is suspicious here, since if Weber's ed can be trusted, it reads 1st person *ajānām* like all the others in the first pāda of the same stanza Furthermore Weber records no variant for VSK. on *apaśyam* in the preceding, precisely similar stanza (*atrā te bhadrā raśanā apaśyam*).

yam tvā somenātitṛpāma (TS. °*pam;* MŚ °*pan*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ. And, in same stanza:

yam tvā somenāmīmadam (MŚ. °*dan*) TS MŚ

ghṛtam mimikṣe ('TA. °*kṣire*) *ghṛtam asya yonih* RV. VS TA. MahānU.

sam u vām (*vo*) *yajñam mahayam* (°*yan*) *namobhih* RV. (both) Grassmann, 'man schmücket' for *mahayan*

apo devīr (VS. ŚB *devā*) *madhumatīr agṛbhnām* (TS. ApŚ. *agṛhṇan*, VS. ŚB. *agṛbhnan*) VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ 'I (they) have taken

the sweet divine waters', the subject is indefinite in TS. ApŚ., in VS.
ŚB it is made definite, 'the gods have taken the sweet waters'

indrasya tvā jathare sādayāmi (AŚ. *dadhāmi*)   VSK. KB GB. AŚ. ŚŚ.
LŚ ApŚ. Kauś: *brahmana indrasya tvā* (Conc. omits *tvā*) *jathare
dadhuh* MŚ   As one eats (*prāśnāti*), he says: 'I place (they, indef.,
have placed) thee in the belly of (Brahman, of) Indra.' The par-
allel formulas are all 1st singular even in MŚ , and this is certainly an
easier reading; one wonders how the 3d plural indefinite crept in
to MŚ

ratham na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣam (RV * *atakṣiṣuh*) RV (both) TB.   The
3d plural is of substantially the same character as the preceding,
even tho a subject (*āyavah*) is here expressed in the preceding pāda.
The first person has priority, see *RVRep* 133f.

§316 (c) In a number of cases first and third person forms are used
referring, in one way or another, to the same individual as subject.
Some of these remind us of the subdivision (b) under First and Second
Person variants (§307), in that the subject is both times an associate in
the ritual performance, a priest or the *yajamāna*, who either speaks or
is indirectly referred to, as·

snuṣā sapatnā (TB comm. and Poona ed. text, *°nāh*) *śvaśuro 'yam astu*
(AŚ *'ham asmi*) TB. AŚ   See §116   The subject is the *yajamāna*
both times.

sarve vrātā varunasyābhūvan (MS. *°bhūma*) TS. MS. KS. TB.   Spoken
by the *yajamāna* at the *rājasūya*   'They (we) all have become the
hosts of Varuna'   In either case the associates of the *yajamāna*
are meant

havante vājasātaye RV · *huvema vā°* RV. SV. MS KS : *huveya vā°* RV.
AV.   The contexts are different (see *RVRep* 255f), but the variant
may properly be classified here, since in the 3d person form the
subject, *janāsah* or *kanvāh*, is really identical with the speaker and
his associates.

§317. Again, there are cases reminding us of subdivision (c) under
First and Second Persons (§308), in that the change is conditioned by
the fact that the same person speaks himself in one variant, while in the
other he is spoken of:

anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim āśāse MŚ. (spoken by the *yajamāna*).
anuvatsarīṇām svastim āśāste TB. ApŚ (said of the *yajamāna* by the
hotar)   The same with *parivatsarīnām* etc., *samvatsarīnām* etc

§318 As will be seen from this illustration the dividing line between
these different types is not clear. The majority of the variants in this

subdivision are perhaps best described by saying that in one form a statement is couched in more or less general terms, the subject being not clearly identified with the speaker, while in the other (with first person) this identification is definitely made. In a way, therefore, these cases resemble those listed under the preceding sub-section, §315   The difference, which is not by any means sharp or clear, is that in the cases listed here the subject of the third person form is not so indefinite as in those mentioned above, it could not be rendered by German *man* or French *on*, since in fact a subject is expressed, or at least very clearly understood   But this subject is clearly identified with the speaker only in the first-person form of the variant.   Thus:

sinanti pākam atı (ŚŚ † *adhı*) *dhīra etı* (ŚŚ *emi*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ ; followed in the first two by:

riasya panthām anv emı (ApŚ *eti*) *hotā* AŚ ApŚ.   'They (fetters) bind the simple, the wise passes over them (I, being wise, pass etc), along the path of holy order goes (I go as) the *hotar*.'   Spoken by the *hotar*

āchettā te (*vo*) *mā rışam* (KS *rışat*, MS. *mārşam*) TS MS. KS TB ApŚ MŚ   'Let (me) your cutter not suffer harm.'   Even in the 3d person form the subject is really identical with the speaker

yad devayantam avathah śacībhıh, parı ghransam omanā vām (TB. *parıghransa vām manā vām*) *vayo gāt* (TB. *gām*) RV MS. TB. N   'When you (Aśvins) aid the pious man mightily, then he (I) shall go to refreshment, passing over heat by your aid', or the like.   TB is badly corrupted, and the comm.'s explanations are mostly worthless, but his *gachatu* for *gām* is at least interesting, and not far wrong.   The speaker identifies himself with the 'pious man'; as to *gām* TB., while undoubtedly secondary, need not be considered corrupt.

yam sarve 'nujīvāma TS . *yam bahavo 'nujīvān* MS.: *yam bahava upañvantı* AŚ   'On whom many (we all) may depend '

tıro (RV VS ŚB AG. *antar*) *mŗtyum dadhatām* (TA ApŚ * *dadhmahe*) *parvatena* RV AV. VS ŚB. TA. ApŚ (bis) AG ApMB   'Let them block (hide, *or* remove, *or*, 'we hide') death by a mountain '   After the funeral, the living are separated from the dead by a barrier, the subject of *dadhatām* is 'the living'.

§319   If the first-person form is textually sound, the following belongs here, the verb occurs in a relative clause, in one form of which the subject is identified with the speaker, and the verb put in the first person, presumably even the other form really refers to the speaker or his associates·

mā yah somam imaṁ pibāt (KŚ. *pibā;* KS. *somam pibād imam*) KS. TB.
KŚ ApŚ. See §331.

§320 Once a speaker is represented as quoting some one else's words
about himself, in the included quotation the subject of the verb, refer-
ring to the speaker of the main clause, should logically be third person,
but in just half the texts it is made first person, by a natural laxity:

abhy asthām (MS. MŚ *asthām*, TS. KS ApŚ. *asthād*) *viśvāh pṛtanā
arātīh* AV TS MS KS MŚ ApŚ 'I have (he has, referring to
the speaker) conquered all battles and hostilities' [thus spake Agni,
etc , sc of me]

§321 In a way the converse of this is found in the next variant, in
which in one out of three texts the speaker is made to refer to himself in
the third person, because the poet thinks of him in the third person·

upamaṅkṣyati syā (ŚŚ. *upamaṅkṣye 'ham;* AB *nimaṅkṣye 'ham*) *salilasya
madhye* AB. ŚB. ŚŚ 'I shall (she, the earth, will) plunge into the
middle of the ocean.' The earth is the speaker.

§322 In a still more strange passage both forms refer to the same
subject, so far as we can see, which ought to be first person, no justifica-
tion for the third person is apparent:

prajāpateh prajā abhūma (KS *abhūvan*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB TB.
Preceded or followed in all by. *svar devā* (TS. TB. *devān*) *aganma*
(MS. *agāma*), and, *amṛtā abhūma* 'We have gone to heaven as
gods (or, to the gods), we (KS. they) have become creatures of
Prajāpati, we have become immortal ' In KS, as in most texts,
this is the order, with first-person expressions flanking the variant
formula on either side Unless 'the gods' is felt as the subject in
KS, which seems unlikely, we cannot explain the 3d person.

§323. (d) The remaining cases concern miscellaneous changes of
subject, either in the same context (in about half the cases, those which
are listed first), or conditioned by a change of context, a few definite
ūhas or *vikāras* are included towards the end; and the section concludes
with a few corruptions or errors First, change of subject in what re-
mains essentially the same context.

viśvāvasuṁ namasā gīrbhir īde (ApMB. *ītte*) RV. ApMB 'I worship
(she, the bride, worships) Viśvāvasu with homage and songs '
The gandharva Viśvāvasu is banished from the bride. All mss. of
ApMB agree, see Winternitz, Introduction, p xix.

dīrghāyutvāya jaradaṣṭir asmi (MG. *astu*) PG. MG. In MG. *jaradaṣṭir*
is understood as a *tatpuruṣa*, while in PG. it is a *bahuvrīhi;* both
mean the same thing 'I am one that attains old age unto long
life,' or, 'let there be (for me) attainment of old age' etc.

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah,* MS. *bhūyāsma te*) *sumatau viśvavedāh* (MS.†
    °*dah,* so text intends with its reading °*dā,* followed by initial vowel)
    TS MS KS. PG   'Viśvavedas is in good-will towards me (us)',
    or, 'may we be in thy good-will, O Viśvavedas'
nahi te nāma jagrāha AV.: *nahy-asyā* (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma gṛbhnāmi*
    RV. ApMB.   See Whitney on AV 3 18 3
vandadvārā vandamānā vivaṣtu SV. *vande dārum* (read *vandārur,* or
    vandār-vā?) *vandamāno vivakmi* RV   See Bloomfield, *Johns Hop-
    kins Circulars,* 1906, p 1062, Ludwig, 4 367; Oldenberg, *RVNoten,*
    on 7 6 1.
apah prerayam (SV. *prairayat,* TB *prairayan*) *sagarasya budhnāt* RV.
    SV TB   Preceded in all by. *indrāya giro aniśitasargāh*   Only
    the RV. version is really sensible; the others are careless distortions.
    Benfey is forced to take the preceding pāda as a separate sentence,
    making Indra the subject of *prairayat*   TB comm gives *giro*
    as the subject and *apah* as the object of *prairayan.*   Cf. §138
yad ahnāt (and, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA. (followed by: *tad ahnāt,*
    or *rātriyāt, pratimucyate*) *yad ahnā* (and, *rātryā*) *pāpam akārṣam*
    TA. MahānU. The form *kurute* is evidently felt as passive:
    'What sin is done (I have done) by day', etc.
o cit sakhāyam sakhyā vavṛtyām RV. AV (Yamī speaks to Yama). *ā*
    tvā sakhāyah sakhyā vavṛtyuh SV (unintelligent revamping of the
    same pāda, Benfey, 'dich möchten Freunde zu Freundschaft
    gewinnen')
havyā te svadantām (MS *svadan,* and once *svadam,* KS. *asvadan*) VS, TS.
    MS ŚB   'Let thy oblations taste sweet' or the like   If *svadam*
    is right, it must be transitive, 'I have enjoyed thy oblations'   But
    probably *svadan* should be read
§324 In some of the above it will be noticed that number as well as
person varies in one form of the variant   Likewise the now following
list of variants, in which change of subject is conditioned by a change
of context, contains cases with change of both person and number
[*apa dveṣo apa hvaro*] '*nyavratasya* (TA *anyad vratasya*) *saścima* (RV
    saścire, TA *saścimah,* but read °*ma* with Poona ed) RV. VS MS.
    SB. TA.   In a different context in RV from the others
āyuṣmān (°*mān,* °*māñ*) *jaradaṣṭir yathāsat* (RVKh VS °*sam,* AV also
    °*sāni*) AV. (both) RVKh. VS. AG PG ApMB   Used in no less than
    four different stanzas, two in AV , one in RVKh. VS., and one in
    the GS. texts
yatra devaih sadhamādam madema (AV. *madanti*) AV. MS. TB. In

three different contexts; no two alike But AV. comm reads *madema*.

ariṣṭām tvā saha patyā dadhāmi (ApMB *kṛnomi*) RV. ApMB.: *ariṣṭām mā saha patyā dadhātu* KŚ MŚ MG : *ariṣṭāham saha patyā bhūyāsam* VS. Similar stanzas, but extensively recast. 'I set thee (let him set me, may I be) uninjured with thy (my) husband.' In the last two forms the woman speaks

samjānate manasā sam cikitre RV · *samjānāmahai manasā sam cikitvā* AV.

sarvam āyur vy ānaśe (MS. *aśnavai*) MS. TB. ApŚ.: *viśvam āyur vy aśnavai* (AV mss. °*vat*) AV VS KS TB.: *dīrgham āyur vy aśnavai* PG. The vulgate text of AV emends to °*vam*, unnecessarily; subject is *sabhā* The context is different from the rest.

Deliberate *ūhas* or *vikāras*

ayam (AŚ. **aham*) *śatrūn jayatu* (AŚ * *jayāmi*) *jarhṛṣānah* (AŚ.* †*jarhiṣānah*), *ayam* (AŚ * *aham*) *vājam* (VS. VSK. ŚB. *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ.* *jayāmi*) *vājasātau* VS. VSK. TS MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis). In AŚ. 2. 11. 8c we have a *vikāra* of the other passage.

divyam dhāmāśāste (and, ūha, *āśāse*) ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

adṛśan (and, *apaśyam*) *tvāvarohantam* NīlarU. (both). The first is a *vikāra* of the other.

tam tvā parameṣṭhin pari rohita (*pary agnir, pary aham*)... *dadhātu* (*dadhāmi*) AV. 13 1 17d. 18d, 19d

jyotiṣe tantava āśiṣam āśāse (KS 7 2 °*ste*) KS 7. 2, 9 (so, correct Conc.) If these are the correct readings, we have another case of *ūha*. But the sole ms used by the ed. for 7.2 reads *āśāste* also in 7.9; if corrupt in one passage, it is likely to be corrupt in the other too. The better reading seems to be *āśāse*; probably read so both times, with ms D on 7.9 and KapS (see editor's note).

gamat sa (*gamema; sa gantā*) *gomati vraje* RV. (all).

jyok paśyema (RV also *paśyāt*, and *paśyema nu*, omitting *jyok*) *sūryam uccarantam* RV. (all) AV.

§325 Corruptions or errors:

idam vām tena prīnāmi ŚŚ : *etad vām tena prīnāti* TB. ApŚ. So Conc., and so Garbe reads in ApŚ But TB. (both edd.) has *prīnāni*, and this is to be read also in ApŚ , see Caland on 2. 20. 6, note 2.

vājino me yajñam vahān (MŚ text *vahāni*, followed by *iti*; probably read *vahān* with v 1) MS KS MŚ

rāyas poṣāyotsṛje (MS. erroneously °*jet*) MS MŚ.

tām te vācam āsya ādatte (read *ādade*)...PG. 3. 13. 6 (see Stenzler's critical note): *ā te vācam āsyā* (*āsyām*) *dade* HG. ApMB.

sthāmny aśvāṅ atiṣṭhipam AV.· *sthāmni vṛkḷāv atiṣṭhipan* AV., vulgate, misprint for °*pam*, see Whitney on 7. 96 1

Under: *prāṇena vācā manasā bibharmi,* Conc quotes TB. 2 5 8 7 as reading *bibharti;* this is an error, there is no variant

4. *Variants between Second and Third Person*

§326 These are much more numerous than those between first and either second or third person Nor are they by any means lacking in interest But little comment is needed on most of them. The great majority are simply cases in which the same subject is alternatively addressed in second person or indirectly referred to in third; and the most interesting feature of this large class is that sometimes one or the other form is inconsistent with its context. This inconsistency may be of two kinds· either the subject of the second person may be a nominative or that of the third person a vocative, or parallel expressions in the surrounding context may be of the opposite type (direct address by the side of third-personal reference) in one form Examples of all these types have been quoted above, §293f , they will form the basis of the following classification. We shall conclude with the smaller, but still not inconsiderable, number of cases in which the change of person is associated with a real change of subject, either in the same context, or owing to the use of the phrase in a different context

§327. (a) First, then, variations between direct address and third-personal indirect reference to the same subject, in which there is no inconsistency with the context in either variant The subject, if expressed, is nominative with the 3d person and vocative with the 2d; and if there are parallel expressions associated, they present no inconsistencies In not a few instances, as we shall presently see, a whole stanza, containing several parallel verbs, is recast, each verb being changed from 2d to 3d person or vice versa

§328 Attention must first be called to the little group of cases in which Soma is referred to in the 3d person in RV., but directly addressed in the 2d person in a repetition in SV.; see §295, and for cases in which the context is inconsistent, §334

agre sindhūnām pavamāno arṣati (SV. °*si*), *agre vāco agriyo goṣu gachati* (SV. °*si*), *agre vājasya bhajate mahādhanam* (SV. °*se mahad dhanam*), *srāyudhah soirbhih pūyate vṛṣā* (SV °*bhih soma sūyase*) RV. SV Here an entire stanza is recast; note that the nominative subject of RV. becomes a vocative in SV.

[*ayā somah* (SV. *soma*) *sukṛtyayā,*] *mahaś cid abhy avardhata* (SV. *ma-*

hānt sann abhy avardhathāh), *mandāna ud* (SV. ɪd) *vṛṣāyate* (SV. °*se*) RV. SV.

te no dhāntu (SV. *dhatta*) *suvīryam* RV. SV. There is no expressed subject, nor other finite verb, in the stanza; Soma is understood as subject

pavitre parı ṣicyate (SV °*se*), *krandan devān ajījanat* (SV °*nah*) RV SV. The (unexpressed) subject ıs Soma

pavamāno vy aśnavat (SV. °*na vy aśnuhı*) RV SV.

nadayann etı (SV. *eṣı*) *pṛthivīm uta dyām*, and, in same stanza· *pracetayann arṣati* (SV. *pracodayann arṣası*) *vācam emām* RV. SV. In thıs and the rest the unexpressed subject ıs Soma

vājān abhı pra gāhate (SV. °*se*) RV SV

harıḥ san yonım āsadat (SV °*dah*) RV. SV

§329. The rest are mıscellaneous, and need no subdıvısıon At the beginnıng of the lıst are placed a number of ınstances of entıre stanzas, or series of formulas, varyıng ın thıs way:

navo-navo bhavatı (AV JUB °*sı*) *jāyamānah, ahnām ketur uṣasām ety* (AV.† *eṣy*) *agram* (TS *agre*), *bhāgam devebhyo vıdadhāty* (AV. °*sy*) *āyan, pra candramās tırate* (TS °*tı*, AV.† °*mas tırase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N.; the first pāda also TB AŚ. HG BDh JUB VHDh

ıhı (AV. *etu*) *tısrah parāvatah, ıhı* (AV. *etu*) *pañca janān atı, ıhı* (AV. *etu*) *tısro 'tı rocanāh* (AV °*nā*, despite gender of *tısro*!) RV. (first two pādas only) AV TB ApŚ Addrest to, or saıd.of, a rival

ye rātrım (KS °*īm*) *anutıṣṭhanlı* (KS † °*atha*), *ye ca bhūteṣu jāgratı* (KS. °*gṛtha*), *paśūn ye sarvān rakṣantı* (KS °*atha*), *te na ātmasu jāgratı* (KS.† *jāgrta*) AV KS

amocı (AV *amukthā*) *yakṣmād durıtād avartyaı* (AV. *avadyāt*), *druhah pāśān nırṛtyaı codamocı* (AV *pāśād grāhyāś codamukthāh*), *ahā avartım* (AV *arātım*) *avıdat* (AV °*dah*) *syonam, apy abhūd* (AV. *abhūr*) *bhadre sukṛtasya loke* AV. TB ApMB. The two verse-halves are secondarıly separated ın AV but obvıously belong to-gether, see Whıtney on AV. 2 10 2 The verb *ahā(s)* may be either 2d or 3d person, and thıs ambıguity may be responsıble for the alteratıon ın the others. Probably AV. wıth its second persons ıs secondary (*ahās* seemed to call for them!), for Ppp has all verbs in the same form as TB. ApMB. (Barret, *JAOS*. 30 193).

yad asarpat (KS °*pas*) *tat sarpır abhavat* (KS. °*vah*, MS. omıts), *yan navam aıt* (KS *aıs*) *tan navanītam abhavat* (KS. °*vah*), *yad aghrıyata* (KS. °*thās*, TS. *adhrıyata*) *tad ghṛtam abhavat* (KS. °*vah*, MS. omıts) TS. MS. KS The butter is referred to or addrest

hato (SV. TB. *hatho*) *vṛtrāny āryā* (AV TB *aprati*) RV AV SV TB..
followed ɪn RV. SV by

hato (SV *hatho*) *dāsānɪ satpatī, hato* (SV *hatho*) *vɪśvā apa dvɪṣah* RV SV.
In SV the entɪre stanza ɪs changed to a dɪrect address   The first
pāda ɪs used ɪn AV. TB ɪn a dɪfferent stanza, addressed however to
the same gods (Indra and Agnɪ), who are dɪrectly addressed ɪn the
2d person, as Whitney remarks, only *hatho* (as ɪn TB) ɪs constru-
able, yet all AV mss , followed by both edd , read *hato*.   Thɪs AV.
readɪng belongs to §332 below   It seems clear that ɪt ɪs a very
ancɪent perversɪon, due to recollectɪon of the Rɪgvedɪc form of the
pāda

pɪtr̄n yakṣad (TS *yakṣy*) *ṛtāvṛdhah,* preceded by, *yo agnɪh* (TS *yad agne*)
kavyavāhanah (TS °*na,* RV *kravya*°), and followed by.

pred u (TS *pra ca*) *havyānɪ vocatɪ* (TS *vakṣyasɪ*) RV VS TS KS

uttame nāka ɪha mādayantām (MŚ °*yadhvɔm*) TS TB ApŚ MŚ.   See
above, §303

akartām aśvɪnā lakṣma AV   *kṛnutam lakṣmāśvɪnā* AV   See §130

agnɪr me hotā sa mopahvayatām SB . *agne gṛhapatɪ upa mā hvayasva*
KS ApŚ. MŚ   *aqnaya upāhvɪyadhvam* Vaɪt

agnɪnāgnɪh samvadatām TA   *agne agnɪnā samvadasva* TA. ApŚ

ɪha rama MS. AB AŚ ApŚ   *ɪha ramah†* HG 1 12 2 (not *rama,* con-
strue as noun). *ɪha ramatām* VS ŚB HG.   Used ɪn varɪous con-
nexɪons, but ɪn VS and MS ɪn precɪsely the same set of formulas
The ɪmmedɪately precedɪng formula ɪn both ɪs addressed to gods,
referrɪng (ɪn 3d person) to the sacrɪfıcɪal horse, but ɪust before thɪs
the horse ɪs dɪrectly addressed ɪn a serɪes of formulas, hence ɪt ɪs
easy for MS. to address *ɪha rama* dɪrectly to the horse, no harshness
ɪs felt   VS , however, ɪs equally natural ɪn referrɪng to the horse
ɪn the thɪrd person, the prayer ɪn *ɪha ramatām* may quɪte as well be
addressed to the gods ɪust mentɪoned.   Mahīdhara, however, thɪnks
the horse must be addressed, and supplɪes *bhavān* wɪth *ramatām* —
There seems to be nothɪng ɪnconsɪstent wɪth the person ɪn the other
texts

dyām (VSK *dɪvam*) *agrenāspṛkṣa āntarɪkṣam madhyenāprāh pṛthɪvīm
uparenādṛṅhūh* VS VSK (for whɪch read ɪn Conc °*āspṛkṣah*) KS
ŚB (addrest ɪn all to the *yūpa*); *devo vanaspatɪr* (sc *yūpo*) *varsaprāvā
ghṛtanɪrnɪg dyām agrenāspṛkṣad āntarɪkṣam madhyenāprāh
pṛthɪvīm uparenādṛṅhāt·* MS. KS TB   Note that *aprās* may be
eɪther 2d or 3d person, and that KS has both forms of the varɪant

uṣo dadṛkṣe (PB. *ūṣā,* read *uṣā, dadṛśe*) *na punar yatīva* RV PB

śivena mā (ApMB. *tvā*) *cakṣuṣā paśyatāpaḥ* (ApMB. *paśyantv āpaḥ*),
śivayā tanvopa spṛśata tvacam me (ApMB *spṛśantu tvacam te*) AV.
TS. MS. AB. ApMB *āpaḥ* nom. in ApMB , voc in the rest.

stego na kṣām aty eti pṛthvīm (AV. *eṣı pṛthivīm*) RV. AV. In a riddle-
some verse, the meaning of which is equally obscure in either form;
there is nothing inconsistent with either person in the context.

śvargena lokena samprornuvāthām Vait ; *svarge* (TS TB *suvarge*) *loke*
prornuvāthām (TS KSA † TB. *sampror°;* VSK TS TB. *°ṛṇvā°;* MS
°tām) VS VSK. TS. KSA. MS. TB. ŚB. Addrest to (in MS said of)
the queen and the horse in the *aśvamedha*.

ghṛtena (Kauś. *vapayā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī prornuvāthām* (VS. TS ApŚ.
prornvātham, MS MŚ *prornuvātām*) VS VSK. TS. MS. KS ŚB.
ApŚ MŚ. Kauś. The subject, *dyāvāpṛthivī,* is nom. in MS MŚ.

sam arīr (MS. KS. *arır*) *vidām* (KS. *vıdah*) VS MS. KS ŚB The
formula is obscure; see Eggeling on ŚB. 3 9. 4 21. No basis for
preference as to person.

kurvato me mā kṣeṣṭa (GB Vait. *kṣeṣthāh*) MS. GB Vait . . *mopadasat*
TS. KS. TB ApŚ And· *sadato me mā kṣāyi* (GB *me mopadasah,*
MS. *°sat*), same texts

aśvinā pıbatam (VS KŚ *°tāṁ*) *madhu* (TB. ApŚ *sutam*) RV VS. TB
ApŚ MŚ. and (pratīka) KŚ. *aśvinā* nom or voc.

ıty adadāḥ (ŚB. *°dāt*) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ The subject is the *yajamāna,*
who is praised either in direct address or indirect reference by
singers: 'Thus thou didst (he did) give!' Similarly: *ıty ayajathāh*
(ŚB *°ta*), and· *ıty ayudhyathāh* (ŚB and, as quoted in Conc ,
MŚ *°ta*), and: *ıty amum samgrāmam ahan* (MŚ. *ajayathāh,* ŚB.
ajayat), same texts   [I question the quotation from MŚ. 9 2 2
ayudhyata, since it is inconsistent with all the others; it ·was fur-
nisht by Knauer from mss for the Conc , and has not been pub-
lished even yet. F. E]

ıdam vātena sagırena rakṣa (MS. *rakṣatu*) TS MS. KS AŚ Subject in
prec pāda, *ındra* (MS *ındrah*) *stomena.* . Note that *ındra* before
st- might be understood as = *indrah* The MS makes this single
pāda (in a *tṛṣtubh* verse) *jagatī,* and is clearly secondary.

devā deveṣu śrayantām (TB *śrayadhvam*), *prathamā dvītīyeṣu śrayantām*
(TB *śrayadhvaṁ\,* *dvītīyās tṛtīyeṣu śrayantām* (TB. *°dhvam*) KS.
TB. Subj *devāḥ,* voc or nom.

no asmın ramate jane (AV *ramase patau*) RV AV ApMB. Subject is
a rival wife

mahyam (this goes with prec pāda in MŚ) *yajamānāya tıṣtha* (MŚ.
tıṣthatu, mss. *tıṣthat*) TS MŚ.

yato na punar āyası (AV °*tı*) AV TB ApŚ   Addrest to, or spoken of, a rıval   AVPpp. agrees wıth TB ApŚ

ślakṣnam evāva gūhatı (ŚŚ °*sı*) AV ŚŚ.   And (prec vs):

tıṣṭhantam ava gūhatı AV   *tıṣṭhann evāvagūhası* ŚŚ (but here the mss of AV have *gūhası*)   Unıntellıgıble stuff.

sam revatīr jagatībhıh prcyantām sam (VSK om *pṛ°sam*) *madhumatīr madhumatībhıh prcyantām* VS VSK ŚB ŚŚ . *sam revatīr jagatībhır madhumatīr madhumatībhıh srjyadhvam* TS TB   The adjectıves are noms even ın TS TB , but no noun subject ıs exprest, so that thıs cannot be called a syntactıc ınconsıstency

yadā prāno abhyavarṣīt AV   *yadā tvam abhıvarṣası* PraśU   *tvam* refers to *prāṇa,* the stanza ıs ıdentıcal

kāmam duhātām ıha śakvarībhıh AV   *rāṣṭram duhāthām ıha revatībhıh* TB   The subject, *dyāvāpṛthıvī,* ıs nom in AV , despıte whıch most of ıts mss read *duhāthām* (but Ppp °*tām*). In TB ıt ıs made voc

gām copasṛṣṭām vıhāram cāntarena mā samcārıṣṭa ApŚ (followed by *ıtı sampreṣyatı*). *vıhāram ca gām copasṛṣṭām antarena mā samcārıṣuh* MŚ (followed by *ıtı brūyāt*)   '(He orders, or he shall say) "Do not (they, the people, shall not) step between the cow   and the *vıhāra* " '

agnır āyus   tenāyuṣāyuṣmān edhı MS   *agnır āyuṣmān   tasyāyam āyusāyuṣmān astv asau* KS   And others, see Conc

agne vīhı AB ŚB AŚ MŚ   *agnır hotā vetv* . . TB AŚ ŚŚ

agnıṣ tān asmāt pra nunottu lokāt MŚ   *agnıṣ tān* (VS *tān;* AŚ. *tāl*) *lokāt pra nudātı* (AŚ *nudātv,* SMB *nudatv*) *asmāt* VS ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ SMB . *agne tān asmāt pra nudasva lokāt* ApŚ

athemā vıśvāh pṛtanā jayāsı (RV * °*tı*) RV (both) SV AB TB   The subject ıs Indra both tımes, tho the context varıes, *jayātı* ıs probably secondary   See *RVRep* 397

adıtıh keśān vapatu AG MG ApMB   *adıtıh śmaśru vapatu* AV. MG.   *adıte keśān* (and, *keśaśmaśru*) *vapa* PG

antar mahānś caratı (and, °*sı*) *rocanena* RV (both)   Agnı ıs the subject both tımes, tho the context varıes

annapate 'nnasya (*annasya*) *no dehı* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ   PrānūgŪ   AG ŚG MG ApMB   *annasyānnapatıh prādāt* PB :   cf *āśaye 'nnasya no dhehı* Kauś

abhı prayānsı sudhıtānı hı khyah (and, *khyat*) RV. (both).   Agnı is the subject both tımes

ararur (MS *ararus te*) *dyām mā paptat* MS KS ApŚ . *araro dıvam mā paptah* VS ŚB Vaıt

avasānapate 'vasānam me vinda TB. ApŚ.: *avasānam me 'vasānapatır vındat* MŚ

avāsṛjat (RV * °*jah*) *sartave sapta sindhūn* RV. (both) AV JUB

avyo (SV. PB. °*yam*) *vāram ın dhāvatı* (RV.* °*si*) RV (both) SV. PB : *avyo vāram vı pavamāna dhāvatı* (subject ıs here *rasa*) RV.

aśınnāv eha gachatam RV AB AŚ ŚŚ · . *gachatām* (TS TB. °*tam*, in the same stanza) RV TS TB N The subject ıs nom. with 3d person, voc with 2d

asmabhyam cıtram vṛṣanam rayım dāh RV. SV. MS TB · *dāt* (but so only p p ın MS , ıts *samhıtā* mss *dāh¹*) MS TB Indra ıs the subject ın both, but the stanzas are otherwıse dıfferent; ın the first dırect address, ın the second ındırect reference The *samhıtā* mss of MS. were ınfluenced by recollection of the other form of the pāda

kṣeme tıṣṭhātı (ŚG *tıṣṭha*, PG *tıṣṭhatu*, HG *tıṣṭhatı*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānā* AV ŚG PG. HG. The subject ıs a house (*śālā*), whıch ıs dırectly addressed in the sequel even ın AV. Nevertheless the 3d person is logıcal and natural, sınce the house ıs ındırectly referred to ın the precedıng

(*pṛṣṭhena dyāvāpṛthwī* (MS adds *āpṛna*)] *antarıkṣam ca vı bādhase* (MS. *bādhasva*, TS *bādhatām*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB See §116 Addressed to, or saıd of, one of the altar-brıcks The precedıng contaıns an address to Indra-Agni, the sudden shıft to a dırect address to the brıck may have seemed harsh to the redactor of TS , hence hıs (evidently secondary) change to thırd person

āsmāsu nṛmnam dhāt MS. TA ŚŚ : *asmāsu nṛmnam dhāh* KB Same context, but KB's version ıs fragmentary, ıt contaıns nothıng ınconsıstent wıth the 2d person

svāttam cıt sadevam havyam āpo devīh svadataınam TS ApŚ *svāttam sad dhavır āpo devīh svadantu* MS : *āpo devīh svadantu* (VSK *sad°*) *svāttam cıt sad devahavıh* VS. VSK ŚB Subject *āpo devīh*, voc or nom

āyātu varadā devī TAA TA MahānU *āyāhı vıraje devı* MG

(*abaddham mano*) *dīkṣe mā mā hāsīh* (KŚ *hāsīt*) TS KŚ BDh · (*adabdham cakṣur* ⁻) *dīkṣen* (sc *dīkṣā-ıd*) *mā mā hāsīt satapā* MŚ The KŚ reading, with voc subject and 3d person verb, belongs ın the next subdıvısıon, but ıs doubtless corrupt; read probably *dīkṣen* ın KŚ Cf however Keıth's AA 237, note

(*indrah*, SV *ındra*) *kratum punīta* (SV °*ṣa*) *uk.thyam* RV SV *ındro vājam ajaytı* TS TB . *ındra vājam jaya* VS MS KS ŚB

uṣnena vāya udakenehɪ (SMB. GG. *udakenaɪdhɪ,* ApMB *vāyav udaḷenehí,* MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG. SMB. GG PG. ApMB. MG   On the very dubious form of MG see §136

apālāṃ aśvɪnā gharmam VS ŚB ŚŚ LŚ : *gharmam apālam aśvɪnā* (accented ɪn MS! but not ɪn TA ; TA adds *hārdɪvānam*) MS TA. ApŚ : *aśvɪnā gharmam pālam hārdvānam* (MS *pibalam hārdrānum,* TA *pālam hārdɪvānam,* LŚ. *pālam aharvyānam*) VS MS ŚB. TA. ŚŚ LŚ. ApŚ (ɪn the last *aśvɪnā* ɪs voc ɪn all, thɪs precedes the other form of the varɪant ɪn all)   The MS form of the first-quoted formula ɪs ɪnconsɪstent (ɪf not corrupt) and belongs ɪn the next subdɪvɪsɪon

devān ā sādayād (TB ApŚ *°yā*) *ɪha* RV VS. KS TB. ApŚ   Agnɪ ɪs the subject ɪn both, but the contexts are otherwise dɪfferent.

nɪmnā punāno arṣasɪ RV SV. *nɪmnā vasāno* (SV *punāno*) *arṣatɪ* RV. SV.   Subject ɪs Soma Pavamāna both tɪmes   Contrast §328

punāno vācam ɪṣyatɪ (and, *°sɪ*) RV (both)   As ɪn precedɪng

sāvɪtrīm bho anu brūhɪ AG ŚG. ApG MG . *sāvɪtrīm me bhavān an bravītu* GG

madhvā yajñam nakṣatɪ (VS TS. *nakṣase*) *prīnānah* (AV *prat°*) AV VS TS MS KS   Followed by *narāśanso agnɪh* (VS TS KS   *agne*). All are consɪstent except KS , whɪch belongs wɪth the next subdɪvɪsɪon

syūtā devebhɪr amɪtenāgāh (MS KS *°gāt*) TS MS KS ApŚ   The stanza ɪs radɪcally reconstructed, tho fundamentally the same.

pɪthwɪ mātar mā mā hɪṅsīh . VS TS ŚB ŚŚ.: *mā mām mātā pɪthwī hɪnsīt* TS MS

bhavatɪ bhɪkṣām dehɪ Kauś : *bhavān bhɪkṣām dadātu* AG

yudhendro mahnā varɪvaś cakāra RV AV · *yudhā devebhyo varɪvaś cakartha* RV AV   The subject of *cakartha* ɪs Indra ɪn one (and that probably the older one) of the two occurrences ɪn RV., see RVRep 87

svayam pɪbantu (TS *juhudhvam*) *madhuno ghɪtasya* VS TS MS. KS SB.

śɪnotu (RV.* *rakṣā ca*) *no damyebhɪr anīkaɪh* RV (both) AB.   See RVRep 110

rājā pavɪtraratho vājam āruhah (and, *°hat*), followed by:
sahasrabhɪṣṭɪr jayasɪ (and, *°tɪ*) *śravo bɪhat* RV. (both).   Subject ɪs Soma Pavamāna.

yathāgnɪr akṣɪto 'nupadasta evam mahyam pɪtre 'kṣɪto 'nupadasta (HG. *°tah*) *svadhā bhava* (HG. *bhavatām*) ApMB HG   And the same

with *yathā vāyur..* , *yathādityo* Subject is *ūrmih* (waters offered to the manes), either directly addressed or indirectly referred to

viśvedevāso adhi vocatā nah (TS *me*) RV. TS. *viśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (KS *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* AV. KS † 'O All-gods, bless us (me)', or 'let the All-gods protect (attend) us' The All-gods are not otherwise mentioned in the stanza, nevertheless the direct address to them seems rather harsh, hence, no doubt, the change to 3d person in AV KS , and hence, perhaps, Keith's presumably accidental translation (of TS 4 7 14 2d) as 3d person ('may the all-gods befriend me', 'befriend' is not a happy rendering of *adhi-vocatā*).

vy antarikṣam atirah RV AV *atirat* RV AV SV AB GB AŚ Vait. Subject is Indra, in different stanzas, both consistent

śyeno na vansu ṣīdati RV SV . *śyeno na vikṣu sīdati* RV SV.. *śyeno na vansu kalaśeṣu sīdasi* RV. Soma Pavamāna is the subject in all

sam devi (KS *devī*) *devyorvaśyā paśyasva* (KS °*ōrvaśyākhyata*) TS KS ApŚ

sa yajñam pāhi (ŚŚ *pātu*) *sa* (AŚ om) *yajñapatim pāhi* (ŚŚ omits) *sa mām pāhi* (ŚŚ. *pātu*) TB GB AŚ Vait ŚŚ ApŚ

yajña pratitiṣtha sumatau suśevāh TB. ApŚ . *yajñah praty u ṣthāt sumatau matīnām* MŚ See §158

mātevāsmā adite śarma yacha (ŚG. *aditih śarma yansat*) AV TS MS KS TB TA ŚG ApMB

sahāvaitu jarāyunā ŚB BrhU *saha jarāyunāva sarpatu* (ApMB °*yunā niṣkramya*) HG ApMB . *sahāvehi jarāyunā* RV *sākam jarāyunā pata* AV The contexts are all similar, and each is internally consistent.

indriyam me vīryam mā nir vadhīh (MŚ *vadhiṣta*) TS MŚ The subject is soma in either case The variant belongs here if *vadhīh* is 2d person as assumed by Keith on TS 3 1 8 3, but since MŚ has a 3d person, *vadhīh* may also be 3d person as assumed by Caland and Henry, *L'Agniṣtoma* 153 (Keith's objection, l c , is not valid)

yathāvaśam tanvam (AV °*vah*) *kalpayāti* (RV °*yasva*) RV. AV VS. Context contains *svarād*, nom (in apposition to subject), even in RV , this is doubtless responsible for the lectio facilior of AV. VS , no subject is formally expressed in RV

vājino vājajito vājam sariṣyanto (TS ApŚ add, *vājam jeṣyanto*) *bṛhaspater bhāgam avajghrata* VS TS ŚB ApŚ *vājinau vājajitau vājam jitvā bṛhaspater bhāgam avajghratam* (KS °*tām*) MS KS MŚ. The same noun forms, alternatively taken as noms or vocs So also in next

vājıno vājajıto vājam sasrvānso (KS *jıgīvānso;* TS *sasrvānso vājam jıgı-*
vānso) *bṛhaspater bhāgam avajıghrata nı mṛjānāh* (KS *bhāge nı*
mṛjatām, TS *bhāge nı mṛddhvam*) VS TS KS ŚB : *vājınau*
vājajıtau vājam jıtvā bṛhaspater bhāge nımṛjyethām MS MŚ

aram aśvāya gāyatı (SV. °*ta*) RV. SV. Subject ıs the n pr Śrutakakṣa
ın next pāda, nom ın RV , voc ın SV. Note plural verb despıte
sıngular subject ın SV

asme dhārayatam (MŚ °*tām*) *rayım* RV. MŚ *asmaı dhārayatım rayim*
AV Subject *agnīṣomā,* orıgınally voc , felt as nom ın MŚ

om utsṛjata (MG. °*tu*) TA ŚŚ AG PG ApMB ApG. HG. MG.
utsṛja (LŚ °*jata*) *gām* LŚ SMB GG See §347

ṛtunā somam pıbatam (KS °*tu,* MŚ † °*tām*) KS MŚ. ApŚ. Subject
Aśvıns ın ApŚ MŚ (nom or voc), ın KS a prıest

mā mā hāsīn (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthıto net* (MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāmı* (KS °*nı*) AV.
KS. MŚ : *mā no hāsīn metthıto net tvā jahāma* TB ApŚ *mā no*
hınsīd dhınsıto na tvā jahāmı AŚ The subject, ın prec , ıs nom ın
all, but the rest of the verse, ıncludıng the latter part of thıs varıant
(note *tvā*), ıs thrown ınto a dırect address ın 2d person, and MŚ.
assımılates ıts *hāsīs* to thıs, ınstead of *hāsīt* Neither form can
therefore be called ınconsıstent wıth the context

asau yaja AŚ *asau yajate* LŚ

bhuvad vıśvam abhy ādevam ojasā RV *bhuvo vıśvam abhy adevam ojasā*
SV. Subject ıs Indra Preceded by dırect address ın 2d person,
but followed by reference ın 3d person, thus neıther form ıs ıncon-
sıstent wıth surroundıngs

aśvınā bhıṣajāvatah (MS °*tam,* TB † °*ta*) VS MS TB. See §116

yā (AV. TS *yāv*) *ātmanvad bibhṛto* (KS † °*tho,* AV *vıśatho*) *yau ca*
rakṣatah (KS † AV °*thah*) AV TS. MS KS Followed ın same
texts by·

yau̯ vıśvasya parıbhū (KS *vıśvasyādhıpā*) *babhūvathuh* (TS † °*tuh*)
These are pādas b and c of a verse ın whıch the subjects, Vāyu and
Savıtar, are ın all texts referred to ın 3d person ın a, and dırectly
addrest ın d Therefore no text ıs completely consıstent ın the
verse, and the varıant pādas are in every case consıstent wıth a
part of the context

śuddhāh pūtā bhavata (TA °*tha,* MG °*ntu*) *yajñıyāsah* RV TA MG
Also ın pāda a MG recasts the expressıon to make the verb 3d
person ınstead of 2d, ıt ıs ınternally consıstent, altho secondary
and poor

ımam no yajñam vıhave juṣasva (AV *śṛnotu*) RVKh AV TS KS TB.

The AV is consistent with the prec half verse (3d person); the others, with the following pāda (direct address in all). Subject Indra.

rāyas poṣaṁ (KS *tvaṣṭah poṣāya*) *vi syatu* (AV MS KS. *vi ṣya*) *nābhim asme* (AV. *asya*) AV. VS. TS MS KS TB ApŚ. The subject, Tvaṣṭar, is nom with 3d person, voc. with 2d. On the dual form of the variant (*viṣyatām*) see §368

§330. With accompanying change in number.

prathamam artim yuyotu nah MG · *pra sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyum yuyotana* HG : *pra sumartyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* SMB. ApMB The subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere

tena brahmāno vapatedam asya (ŚG *adya*) AV TB. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB *tena brāhmano vāpatu* MG *tenāsyāyuṣe vapa* ApMB 'By that (razor), O priests, shave his (head) here' or 'by that let the priest shave (him)', or (a kind of *ūha* in ApMB) 'by that shave thou his (head) unto long life '

tatra rayiṣṭhām anu sambharaitam (AŚ *sambhavatām*, MŚ *sambharetām*) TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ In TB ApŚ addrest to god Agni (2d sing), in AŚ. MŚ subject is two fires (3d dual)

rājānaṁ samgāyata (PG °*yetām*) ŚG PG. Stenzler renders PG. as a direct address, as if °*gāyethām* were the reading, tho he quotes no such reading There seems to be no reason why the two lute-players should not be referred to in the 3d person: 'let them sing of the king ' In ŚG a plurality of lute-players is directly addrest

salakṣmā (MS. KS °*ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS MS KS ŚB. °*paṁ*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV. VS MS. KS ŚB. *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bharatha* TS See §104, h In the YV. texts used of the animal victim, who is addressed in the sequel, hence the change to 2d person in TS , which is however evidently secondary.

anu ma idam vratam vratapatir manyatām MS.. *anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir manyatām* (KS °*patayo manyadhvam*, ŚB.* °*patir amansta*) VS TS KS GB ŚB. (bis) Vait See §130.

§331. There are a few variants in which a verb in a relative clause is alternatively made 3d person, because of the relative pronoun serving as subject, tho the person referred to is still directly addrest This psychological shift is familiar in other languages:

yā tiraścī nipadyase (AŚ ŚŚ. SMB. °*te*) ŚB. BṛhU. AŚ. ŚŚ SMB. ApMB. HG. The same person is directly addrest in all: 'thou who liest (lies) down across . '

tā enam praṇidvānsau śrapayatam MS : *tāv ımam paśum śrapayatām pravidvānsau* TB   Not only the pronoun and adjectıve referring to the subject ın thıs pāda, but the noun subjects ın the prec , are nom ın MS.

mā no gharma vyathıto vıvyadhīt (TA *ınvyatho nah*) MS TA · *mā nah soma hvarıto vıhvarasva* MŚ   (so read, see §159), followed ın same verse by:

mo ṣvatvam asmān tarādhāt (so read wıth p p) MS   *mā sv* (Poona ed. *mo ṣv*) *asmāns tamasy antar ādhāh* TA   *mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt* (mss *ādāt*) MŚ   In vıew of the voc *gharma (soma)*, ıt would appear that MS MŚ must understand the subject to be ındefinıte; but ıt can hardly be anythıng else than the *gharma*   The formula ıs a *prāyaścıtta* spoken upon omınous performance of the *gharma* or *soma*-offerıng

adabdho gopāh (KS † *gopah*) *parı pāhı nas tvam* (KS *parı pātu vıśvatah*) RV TS KS · *tvam no gopāh parı pāhı vıśvatah* AV.   The subject (ın prec pāda) ıs *agne* RV AV , *agnır* TS KS ; TS ıs ınconsistent (2d person wıth subject nom)

agnır dād (TS *dā*) *dravınam vīrapeśāh* RV TS   The subject beıng *agnır*, TS ıs ınconsıstent, but note the followıng *dr-*, and cf §24.

sṛjad dhārā ava yad dānavān han SV · *sṛjo vı dhārā ava dānavam. han* RV N   The subject ıs *ındra*, voc , ever ın SV , and the prec. parallel verbs are 2d person.

kadā sutam tṛṣāna oka ā gamah (SV *gamat*) RV. SV AV   ´The subject ıs the voc *ındra*, followed by *sv-* and perhaps felt as nom (for *ındrah*) ın SV?   Benfey baldly translates 3d person verb wıth voc. subject

devebhyo havyam (MS MŚ MG *havyā*) *vahatu prajānan* RV AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB TB   Vaıt. MŚ Kauś. MG · *devebhyo havyam vaha nah* (Kauś omıts *nah*) *prajānan* TB. AŚ ŚŚ. ApŚ Kauś   There are three dıfferent contexts here, one wıth the second varıant, and two wıth the first   All are consıstent wıth theır contexts except that MŚ alone has the form *vahatu* wıth a precedıng voc subject

patyur janıtvam abhı sam babhūtha (TA *babhūva*) RV AV TA.   See §262, f   The subject is *tvam*, and TA. comm glosses *babhūva* wıth a 2d person

pıtā mātarıśvāchıdrā padā dhāh (KS AŚ *dhāt*) TS KS AB AŚ. 5. 9. 1.   In TS AB nom subject wıth 2d person verb; KS AŚ are consıstent.

vy astabhnā (VS. ŚB. *aska°*, MS *aṣka°*, KS. *aṣṭa°*, TS. *aśtabhnād*, TA. *asṭabhnāā*) *rodasī viṣṇav* (VS MS. KS *viṣṇa*, TS. *viṣṇu*) *ete.* followed by.

dādhartha (TS *·dādhāra*) *pṛthivīm abhito mayūkhaiḥ* RV. VS TS MS. KS ŚB TA. The prec half verse is address to Heaven and Earth; hence, no doubt, TS. changes these pādas to a 3d person reference to Viṣṇu, which seems less harsh than a direct address to him. TA. has a blend, being internally inconsistent, or at least harsh; despite the voc subject and the 2d person verb retained in pāda d, it joins TS in having a 3d person verb in pāda c.

tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya draviṇehāgameḥ, etc (see § 104, u). Here all forms of the variant are self-consistent (nom. with 3d person, voc with 2d) except MS, which has *draviṇāgamyāt*; its p p reads *drāvina* (accented!); is this form possibly felt as a nom pl neuter, with sing verb? The following parallel formulas in MS have 3d person verbs with nom. subjects

yamasya dūtaś ca rāg vidhāvati (TA. *dūtaḥ śrapād ridhāvasi*): followed by:

gṛdhraḥ suparnaḥ kuṇapaṁ niṣevati (TA.ṭ *niśvase*) MS TA The TA. comm regards the *gṛdhra* as address, despite the nom form.

[*viśtasya devī mrcayasya* (ŚŚ *mṛśayasya*) *janmano*] *na yā roṣāti na grabhat* (ŚŚ *grabhah*) AB AŚ ŚŚ 'The goddess of the imperishable (?) kind, who shall not be angry, shall not (or, do not) seize us' Keith takes *grabhat* as part of the relative clause, which leaves no main verb in the passage; it seems better to regard *grabhat* as the main verb with subject *devī* It may be that the original reading was *devi* (voc), followed by *grabhah*, and that *grabhat* is due to secondary form assimilation to *roṣāti*, whose 3d personal form is justified by the relative (cf §331) As it stands, ŚŚ is inconsistent, since the only possible subject for its 2d person verb is nominative.

ajātaśatruḥ syonā no astu TS MS AŚ : *ajātaśatrus suharo na edhi* KS. The subjects (a series of nouns, in the preceding) are all noms ; KS is harsh

yajamānāya draviṇam dadhātu (VS. ŚB KS * *dadhāta*) AV VS. VSK TS MS. KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ. The subject is nominative, and parallel clause 3d person, in all. On the plural see § 355

hato (SV. TB *hatho*) *vṛtrāny āryā* (AV. TB *aprati*) RV AV. SV. TB The AV. variant is inconsistent as between subject and person of the verb, see §329.

sa no mayobhūh pito (*pitar*) *āviśasta* (*āviścha*; MŚ *pitur āviveśa*) TS TB.

AŚ. MŚ ŚG SMB. PG. *sa nah pito madhumān ā viveśa* Kauś.
Voc. with 2d person verb in all but MŚ. Kauś in MŚ. nom with
3d person (equally consistent); in Kauś, however, if the text is
right, we have voc with 3d person verb! See §69

madhvā yajñam nakṣati (°se) *prīnānah (prai*°) AV VS TS. MS KS
  See § 329 KS is inconsistent

imau vīryam (TB *rayim) yajamānāya dhattām* (TB *dhattam*) MS. TB.
  The 2d person of TB is inconsistent with its nom subject, *aśvinā*
  (accented) The comm finds no difficulty in ignoring the accent
  and taking it as voc But in the next pāda occurs a parallel verb
  rakṣatām, with the same subject Even this does not disturb the
  comm, who calmly interprets it as if it were 2d person *(sarvato
  bhayāt pālayatam)* In truth, of course, it is rather *dhattam* which
  must be an error for 3d person *dhattām*

śarad dhemantah suvite dadhāta (MŚ °*tu*) KS MŚ : *śarad varṣāh
  suvitam* (ŚG *sukṛtam) no astu* (AV *svite no dadhāta*) AV TS ŚG.
  SMB In AV. KS the six season-names which precede are directly
  addressed in 2d person, tho they are nom in form, not voc Doubt-
  less for this reason MŚ substitutes a 3d person, and since the 3d
  plural would not fit metrically, makes it singular, agreeing with the
  nearest of the six subjects, see § 355 The other texts dodge the
  difficulty by making *suvitam* the subject of a copulaic verb, *astu*

deveṣu nah sukṛto (VSK *deveṣu mā sukṛtam) brūtāt* (KS *brūta*, PB MŚ
  brūyāt) VSK TS KS PB MŚ *devebhyo mā sukṛtam brūtāt* (ŚB
  with ūha, *voceh*) VS ŚB *sukṛtam mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS A 2d person
  is required, and PB comm reads *brūtāt*, probably MŚ (in an un-
  published part of the text) is likewise to be read *brūtāt*

vider (VS KS ŚB *vided) agnir* (VSK ŚBK *agner*, MS MŚ. *agne*)
  nabho nāma VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚBK MŚ See Keith on
  TS 1 2. 12 1, note 2 The TS is inconsistent (2d person verb
  with nom subject) The others all rectify the syntax by one
  change or another

mā no dyāvāpṛthivī hīdiṣethām MS *mā dyāvāpṛthivī hīdiṣātām* TA In
  MS. as well as TA *dyāvāpṛthivī* is nom (accented), and the pre-
  ceding parallel pāda is in the 3d person

akarat sūryavarcasam ApMB *akṛṇoh sūryatvacam* RV AV. JB · *avakṛ-
  ṇot sūryatvacam* MG The subject, in the preceding pāda, is
  indra (voc) in all but MG , even ApMB 1 1 9 reads so, despite 3d
  person verb, cf Winternitz, Introduction, p xvi And indeed even
  MG, tho it makes the subject nom, *indras*, to agree with the 3d

person verb, still retains the voc epithet *śatakrato* in pāda b, agreeing with it!   Only RV. AV. JB are really grammatical

brahma tena punīhi nah   (mā; punātu mā, punīmahe), idam brahma punīmahe, see §302.

(*abaddham mano . .) dīkṣe mā mā hāsīh* (KŚ. *hāsīt,* corrupt?) TS KŚ BDh : (*adabdhaṁ cakṣur . .) dīkṣen mā mā hāsīt.* .MŚ   The KŚ is inconsistent

§333. (c) In a very large number of other cases, while there is no inconsistency between the case of the subject and the person of the verb, we note more or less inconsistency between the person of the verb and the surrounding context, in one form of the variant   (See §294) That is, for instance, in a passage containing several parallel verbs with the same subject, one is suddenly shifted from 2d to 3d person, or vice versa   Or, a 3d person verb is found when in an adjoining passage direct address to the subject is indicated by a 2d person pronoun, or the like   The result is a more or less harsh anacolouthon   This condition is not by any means always secondary, indeed, it happens very frequently that the anacolouthic syntax appears to characterize the older form of the variant, and a later text smoothes it out by a change of person in one verb

§334. In half a dozen cases, however, of verbs of which Soma is the subject, and which in the RV are third person, and occur in the context of other (parallel) third-person expressions, the SV. changes the 3d person to 2d, producing a direct address to Soma which is inconsistent with the context (cf. above §§295, 328):

adhi triprṣṭha uṣaso vi rājati (SV. °*si*) RV SV.   The subject, soma, is spoken of in the 3d person in the preceding even in SV.

āpṛchyam dharunam vājy arṣati (SV. °*si*) RV. SV.   The subject, soma, is referred to in the 3d person in the prec pāda

punāno vāram pary eti (SV. *vāram aly eṣy) aryayam* RV. SV. ApŚ   The subject, soma, is referred to in 3d person in the 1st half of the same verse

viśvā yad rūpā pariyāty (SV °*sy) ṛkvabhih* RV SV.   Otherwise 3d person in the verse.

vṛthā pājānsi kṛnute (SV °*ṣe) nadīṣv ā* (RV.† once omits *ā*) RV. (bis) SV.   Otherwise 3d persons in the verse

arṣan (SV. *arṣā) mitrasya varunasya dharmanā* RV SV   Parallel verb in the preceding is 3d person in both.

§335. In two cases, however, the reverse change takes place in SV in verbs of which Soma is the subject, there are special reasons for both

vṛṣo acīkradad vane SV. 2. 430b, 480b: *vṛṣāva cakradad* (9. 107. 22b *cakrado) vane* RV. 9. 7 3b, 9. 107 22b   In SV 2 430b = RV. 9. 107 22b Soma is addressed in the latter part of the stanza, yet he is here referred to in the 3d person in SV., probably under the influence of the parallel passage 2 480b = RV 9 7. 3b, which has 3d person in both texts

pṛṣṭheṣv erayā (SV. *airayad) rayim* RV SV   Here RV is inconsistent; the subject, Soma, is the subject of a 3d person verb in the next pāda.   In SV, this is smoothed out

§336. We may note that it is only Soma for which SV. seems to feel this urge towards direct address, e g , in the following, where the Maruts are the subject, SV changes secondarily a 2d person address to a 3d person reference, despite direct address to the Maruts in the preceding: *viśve pibata* (SV. *pibantu) kāminah* RV SV

§337. The long list of remaining cases is as follows

yat sānoh sānum āruhat (SV *sānv āruhah)* RV SV   The subject is Indra, who is otherwise spoken of in the 3d person even in SV.; the next pāda is *bhūry aspaṣṭa kartvam*   'When he (Indra) mounted from peak to peak and beheld much labor '   A 2d person verb here is intolerably harsh, one is tempted to guess that SV felt *āruhah* as a verbal noun, dependent on *aspaṣṭa* (!).   This would perhaps be no worse than other forms of which SV is guilty   But probably it merely shifts to direct address to Indra, see § 294

yena bhūyaś (PG *bhūriś) carāty ayam* (AG *ca rātryam*, MG. *caraty ayam,* PG. *carā divam), jyok ca paśyāti* (PG °*si*, MG °*yah) sūryam* (MG. °*yah)* AG PG. ApMB MG   The subject is the boy in the shaving rite (except that MG. makes it *sūryah* in the 2d pāda; perhaps also in the first? doubtful), he is addrest in the 2d person in the rest of the verse in AG PG MG , spoken of in the 3d in ApMB As to persons, PG and ApMB are consistent; AG flagrantly inconsistent, MG. patches together a makeshift reading, keeping 3d person but changing the subject

yajñasya yuktau dhuryā (TB ApŚ °*yāv) abhūtām* (MS. °*thām)·* and (in same verse) *divi* (KS *dive) jyotir ajaram* (MS KS *uttamam) ārabhetām* (MS KS. °*thām)* MS KS † TB ApŚ.   In prec pāda both MS. and KS have the 3d person *gachatām*, both are therefore inconsistent   On *abhūthām* (middle!) see §§21, 56

antaś carati (MahānU PrānāgU. °*si) bhūteṣu* TA. TAA. MahānU. PrānāgU. LVyāsaDh ŚaṅkhaDh   The subject (*paramātmā*, TA. comm) is addrest in the second person in the 2d half of the verse

sampriyah paśubhir bhava (TB ApŚ *bhʋwat*) MS TB ApŚ. *sampriyam prajayā paśubhir bhuvat* TA   The subject (Agni) is referred to in the 3d person even in MS in the preceding

viśvo (TS *viśve*) *rāya iṣudhyati* (TS °*si*) RV VS TS. MS KS ŚB. Both variations in TS are corrupt, see Keith (p 21, n. 3), who translates the RV reading   As K remarks, the 2d person is apparently intended to match *puṣyase* in the next line, but this is an infinitive, not a finite form

mā no hṛnītām atithir (SV *hṛnīthā atithim*) *vasur agnih* RV SV   The subject can only be Agni in SV, which seems to understand the last two words as a separate sentence 'Be not ashamed of our guest (O Agni!), Agni is good '   ʻ

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt (VS ŚB *'dhvara āsthāt*, KS *'dhvare sthāh*, ApŚ *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ   'The offering has stood upright', or (KS) 'thou (Agni) hast stood upright at the offering', or (ApŚ) 'he (Agni, who is directly addrest in both the preceding and following) has stood' etc   Caland assumes *'sthāh* as the true reading of ApŚ

sā nah payasvatī duhām (TS PG *dhukṣva*, MS *duhe*, SMB *duhāʔ*) RV AV TS MS KS SMB PG   The subject (*eḍāṣṭakā*) is spoken of in the 3d person in the 1st half of the same verse even in TS PG, which here address it directly   For the doubtful reading of MS SMB see §104, b

subheṣajam yathāsati (AV °*si*, LŚ *yathāsat*) AV TS MS KS LŚ   Different contexts, but, as Whitney remarks ad loc , the 3d person would suit better in AV

tat satyam yad vīram bibhṛthah (MŚ † °*tah*), *vīram janayiṣyathah* (MŚ °*tah*), *te mat prātah prajanayiṣyethe* (MŚ °*te*), *te mā prajāte prajan-ayiṣyathah* (MŚ °*tah prajayā paśubhih*) TB ApŚ MŚ   Preceded, even in MŚ, by a direct address in 2d person

(*indraś ca nah śunāsīrāv*) *imam yajñam mimikṣatam* (ŚŚ °*tām*) TB ŚŚ   Followed by *garbham* (ŚŚ °*ān*) *dhattam svastaye*, so that ŚŚ is inconsistent   Its reading is evidently a reminiscence of the form of the pāda which occurs elsewhere, in a different context, with *mimikṣatām;* see §341

arakṣasā manasā taj juṣeta (TS MS *juṣasva*, KS *juṣethāh*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB   See §160   In the following 2 pādas Agni is referred to in 3d person

imam yajñam abhi gṛnīta viśve RV VS · *idam no havir abhi gṛnantu viśve* AV   The subject is the *pitṛs*, who are addrest in the next line in the 2d person even in AV, and AV comm reads *gṛnīta* here

nātārīd (TB *°rīr*) *asya samṛtım vadhānām* (TB *ba°*) RV. TB   The
   parallel verbs are all 3d person, TB. comm. glosses *na prāptavān*

nıṣīdan no apa durmatım ȷahı (TS. *hanat*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB   The
   subject is understood as Agni   The first part of the verse refers to
   hım ın 3d person and is dırectly addrest to plants, the majorıty of
   the texts change to a 2d person address to Agni, while TS. alone,
   more consıstently but presumably secondarily, contınues the
   indırect reference

parāvata ā ȷaganthā (AV. *ȷagamyāt*, TS *ȷagāmā*) *parasyāh* RV. AV. SV.
   VS MS KS. Subject Indra, who in the following is addrest ın
   2d person ın all

pıtarah pıtāmahāh pare 'vare tatās tatāmahā ıha māvata (PG. *māvantu*)
   TS PG. The last of a serıes of sımılar formulas, the precedıng
   ones are 3d person ın both texts

purā gṛdhrād araruṣah pıbātah (TB. *pıbāthah*) RV. MS TB   In the
   followıng TB also has 3d person verb

prādāh (SMB *prādāt*) *pıtṛbhyah svadhayā te akṣan* RV. AV. VS TS. ApŚ.
   SMB   Subȷect Agni, addrest ın 2d person thruout the verse in most
   texts, but in SMB only in the last pāda; in thıs (the 3d) pāda, and
   ın the 1st (whıch ıs a dıfferent one from that of the other texts), it
   has 3d person forms, ın the 2d pāda the form is ambiguous (either
   2d or 3d).

mā mā hınsīt (VS † KS ŚB *hınsīh*) VS TS KS ŚB. TB. ApŚ   Prec.
   by *mā tvā hınsīt* (KS ms *hınsīh*)   In the Taıt. school texts the
   verb-form ıs mechanıcally assimilated to the precedıng, just as in
   the one ms of KS the form of the prec verb ıs assimilated to the
   followıng (properly emended by von Schroeder, since the object
   tvā makes 2d person verb obvıously ımpossıble)   Subject *kṛṣṇāȷına*
   (Mahīdhara on VS).

yathā ȷyok sumanā asāh (HG *asat*) ApMB HG   The prec formula
   addresses the boy ın 2d person even ın HG.

yad ūrdhvas tıṣṭhā (KS *°thād*) *dravıneha dhattāt* RV. MS KS AB. TB.
   N.   In KS ınconsıstent wıth context, see §24

vākpā vācam me pāhı (MS *pātu*) TS MS AB AŚ   And the same with
   śrotrapāh śrotram, cakṣuṣpāh etc *vākpāh* is nom , whıch makes 3d
   person at least easıer, and the prec ıs a 3d person statement ın TS.

vıśvasmā ıd ıṣudhyate (TB *°se*) RV. TB   Followed by·

devatrā havyam ūhıṣe (RV. *ohıṣe* and *ohıre*) RV. (bis) SV TB   On the
   relatıon of the RV forms see *RVRep* 131f   The SV. occurrences
   repeat RV 8 19 1 (whıch has *ohıre*) but seem ınfluenced by RV.

1 128 6 (*ohīṣe*)   TB repeates RV 1 128 6 but makes it more
natural, *ohīṣe* (p p *ā ūhīṣe*) is surrounded by 3d person verbs
referring to the same subject (Agni), so that attempts have even
been made to explain *ohīṣe* as an infinitive (see *RVRep.* loc cit ,
and Oldenberg's *RVNoten* ad loc)   In TB the whole passage is
made a direct address to Agni—a much easier reading

śarma varūtham āsadat svah (TS *āsadah suvah*) VS TS MS KS SB   In
TS the verb is assimilated to the person of the 2d half-verse, where
Agni is directly addrest in all.   Tho more consistent, it is doubtless
secondary

jayanta upaspṛśatu HG : *jayantopa spṛśa* ApMB   Only HG. is con-
sistent with parallel formulas in the context, which even in ApMB,
are 3d person

upasadyo namasyo yathāsat (AV *bhaveha*) AV TS MS.   Subject is a
king, equated with Indra, in 1st half verse all texts refer to him in
3d person, here AV changes to direct address (AV 3 4 1 has the
same pāda in a different context.)

anu (AV **prati*) *dyāvāpṛthivī ā tatantha* (AV **viveśa,* AV *TS *TB *tatāna*)
RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB   Occurs in two different
verses; one (A) is addrest to Soma, with verbs in 2d person, the
other (B) refers to Agni, with verbs in 3d person   Only A occurs in
RV , only B in AV TB , both occur in VS TS MS KS , but VS
MS KS read in B the 2d person form taken from, and appropriate
to, A, while only TS keeps the distinct forms appropriate to each

andhena yat (TA *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsīt* (TA *°āsi*) AV TA.   The
subject (acc to both comms a cow, but see Whitney's note on
AV 18 3 3) is referred to in the 1st half verse in 3d person in both
texts

āṣṭa (MS KS *āṣṭhāh*) *pratiṣṭhām avidad dhi* (MS *avido hi,* KS *avido nu*)
gādham TS MS KS PG   So the Conc   The subject, Viśvavedas,
is referred to in the prec pāda in the 3d person in TS KS (while in
MS he is directly addrest)   If, as we believe, the Conc presents the
true text of KS , it alone of the texts is inconsistent with its sur-
roundings   The matter is, however, not certain   The single ms of
KS is quoted as reading *āṣṭāh* and *avide,* which seem most likely to
represent *āṣṭhāh* and *avido,* but von Schroeder (doubtless for the
sake of consistency with the context) emends, overboldly as it
seems, to *āṣṭa* and *avidan*

ganān me mā vi tītṛṣah (MŚ *°sat*) TS MŚ   'Do not (let him not) make
my troops thirsty '   Only the 2d person is proper, referring to Indra,

to whom the whole verse is addrest. Knauer on MŚ. 2 4 1. 35b
defends °ṣat of all his mss by supposing ıt to refer to Vāyu, under-
stood. In the same context. *ganān me mā vy arīrıṣah* Vait In
different contexts: *ganā me mā vı tṛṣan* VS. TB ŚB., *ganaır mā mā
vı tītṛṣata* MS. 'Let not my troops be thirsty' or 'make me not
thirsty with my troops', shıft between causatıve and sımple verbs,
with consequent ınversıon of subject and object

abhi no vīro arvati kṣameta RV. TB : *tvam no vīro arvatı kṣamethāh* AB.
In a repetition of the RV. stanza, in which the subject (Rudra) ıs
addrest with 2d person verbs ın the precedıng pādas, AB makes thıs
pāda consistent with them

ā yantu pıtaro manojavasah ApŚ *eta pıtaro manojavāḥ*, and: *āganta
pıtaro manojavāh* MŚ. (ın same sūtra)· *paretana* (TS KS ApŚ
pareta) *pıtarah somyāsah* (TS. ApŚ *somyāh*) TS MS KS AŚ. MŚ.
ApŚ (ın dıfferent context from the above ın ApŚ , but in the same
context, separated by one sūtra, from *eta* etc ın MŚ , ın the next
sūtra but one MŚ has a 3d person reference to the same subject,
śundhantām pıtarah, thus shifting from 2d to 3d person)

ṛtūnr (TB *ṛtūn*) *anyo vidadhaj jāyate punah* (AV *jāyase navah*) RV AV.
MS TB Preceded by the correlate· *vıśvānyo bhuvanā vıcaṣte* (so
AV., the others sımılarly). Saıd of the sun and moon respectıvely
The change to dırect address ın AV. ıs harsh and ıs pretty surely a
mere corruptıon; the comm reads *jāyate*

tena mā saha śundhata (AV *śumbhantu*) RV AV The waters seem to
be addressed ın RV ; they are referred to ın 3d person ın the preced-
ing The AV. readıng ıs uncertaın, SPP adopts *śumbhatu*, and so
Whıtney's Translatıon, see §360

dıvo jyote (and, *jyotır*) *vıvasva ādıtya* . *āsuvadhvam* KS · *devajūte
vıvasvann ādıtya*. .*āsuvadhvam* MS : *vıvasvān adıtır devajūtıs
vıyantu* TS Two parallel pādas precedıng hăve *vyantu* with nom
subject ın MS KS also

yo devānāṁ carası prānathena VS MS. KS ŚB *devānām yaś caratı
prā*° TS Here, paradoxically, ıt ıs the 2d person of most texts whıch
ıs inconsıstent with the 2d (not 3d) person verb of the precedıng
lıne, for the subjects of the two must be dıfferent, being masc and
fem respectıvely Doubtless thıs ıs the reason for TS's change to
3d person here, and for its further change ın the next pāda (*devı*
for *dera*), whıch makes the entıre stanza addrest to the femınıne
entity mentıoned ın the first half. TS ıs, of course, secondary

yasmād bhīta udavāsıṣta (and, *udavepıṣta*) MŚ : *yasmād bhīṣāvāsıṣthāh*

(and, *bhīṣāvepiṣṭhāh*) TB ŚŚ ApŚ Surrounding and parallel formulas (addresst to the animal victim) are 2d person even in MŚ

aśvināv eha gachatām (TS TB °*tam*) RV TS TB. N *dśvināv* is voc in TS TB , *aśvināv* nom in RV. The same pāda with °*tam* (and *aśvināv*) in RV. and other texts, in a direct address to the Aśvins, who are here (in RV) referred to in the 3d person, the stanza being addrest to a priest (the *adhvaryu* according to comm on RV , the *hotar* according to that on TB). The preceding pāda in TB as well as RV. is: *prātaryujā* (= *aśvinau*) *vi bodhaya*. TS. changes this to °*yujau vi mucyethām*, making it also a direct address to the Aśvins TB is inconsistent in that the first pāda is addrest to a priest and refers to the Aśvins in 3d person, while the second addresses them directly. TS by its further change in the first pāda restores consistency No doubt the 2d person form of the second pāda is due to influence of the other form of the variant with *gachatam*, in a different stanza in RV

iyaty agra āsīt (KS TA ApŚ *āsīh*) VS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ In two different stanzas (used in similar connexions), one in KS ApŚ , the other in the remaining texts The KS ApŚ stanza is consistently in the 2d person, according to ApŚ addrest partly to a lump of earth, partly to pebbles The other stanza likewise refers to a lump of earth, which is addrest directly in the next pāda in MS at any rate (with vocative *devi*), and according to Mahīdhara also in VS , M thus interprets the pronoun *te*, as referring to the earth, with *āsīt* Mahīdnara supplies *bhavatī*, taking the whole as direct address There is, then, inconsistency between the two pādas in VS MS In TA , which has the same context as VS MS , this inconsistency is removed by changing *āsīt* into a 2d person

iṣaṁ tokāya no dadhat (KS *dadhah*) RV SV KS., and AVPpp in its version of AV 7 20 2, see Whitney's note on this The RV SV passage is not pertinent since *dadhat* is a participle; the context is different But both KS and AVPpp have finite verb forms, the stanza in them is otherwise a direct address, and AVPpp is therefore inconsistent In both the next pāda reads.

pra na (MS *na*) *āyūnṣi tāriṣah* (AVPpp MŚ KS mss. °*ṣat*) AVPpp VS, TS KS ŚŚ N See preceding (In all but AVPpp KS MS the preceding pāda is different) This pāda, with *tāriṣat*, is found repeatedly in other contexts (see Conc), in most of which the 3d person is appropriate Doubtless the reading with *tāriṣat* here

(and probably in AV. 4. 10. 6e, where a 2d person also seems, required) is due to contamination with that form of the phrase.

ṛdhag ayā (TS. MS. KS. *ayād*) *ṛdhag utāśamiṣṭhāḥ* (MS. KS. °*śamiṣṭa*) VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB N.: *dhruvam ayā dhruvam utāśamiṣṭhāh* RV.: *dhruvam ayo dhruvam utā śaviṣṭha* AV. The forms *ayā*(s) and *ayād* are both 2d persons; but because the latter looks more like a 3d person, MS. KS secondarily make the following verb 3d person, despite direct address in the preceding and following pādas. On the corrupt version of AV. see Whitney on 7. 97. 1.

citrebhir abhrair upa tiṣṭhatho (MS. °*to*) *ravam* RV.† MS. Followed by:

dyām varṣayatho (MS °*to*) *asurasya māyayā* RV. MS The preceding pādas speak of the subject (*mitrāvarunau*) in the 3d person; hence the change to 3d person in MS , which makes the syntax smoother. Nevertheless MS p.p reads *varṣayathah*.

dhartā divo rajaso vibhāti dhartā (TA. *divo vibhāsi rajasah*; VS. ŚB. *divo vibhāti tapasas pṛthivyām*) VS. MS. ŚB TA. The context has a parallel verb *yacha*.

dhruvaidhi poṣyā (PG °*ye*) *mayi* RVKh ŚG. PG. ApMB.: *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV. The AV. is inconsistent, for the woman referred to by *iyam* is addressed in 2d person in the rest of the stanza.

aredatā (*ahe*°, see §160) *manasā devān gacha* (ApŚ *gamyāt*) MS. KS. ApŚ. Parallel verbs are 3d person in all.

janiṣṭa (TS °*ṣvā*, MS °*ṣva*) *hi jenyo agre ahnām* RV. TS. MS KS The subject is Agni, referred to in 3d person by all in the sequel.

pratiṣṭhām gacha (GB *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhām mā gamaya* (GB °*yet*) AB. GB Direct address in the preceding in both Gaastra considers GB corrupt

marya iva yuvatibhih sam arṣati (AV. *iva yoṣāh sam arṣase*) RV. SV. AV. Parallel verbs in the preceding are 3d person in all

namo viśvakarmaṇe sa u pātv asmān TS. MŚ : *viśvakarman namas te pāhy asmān* AV. Preceding parallel is 3d person in AV.

muñcatu (KS. *muñcemam*) *yajñam* (ApŚ. *yajño*; KS adds *muñca*) *yajñapatim anhasah svāhā* MS. KS. ApŚ 3d person forms are used in parallel formulas in KS

meṣa iva vai sam ca vi corv acyase AV.: *meṣa iva yad upa ca vi ca carvati* (ApŚ. erroneously, *carvari*) KS. ApŚ 3d person forms in the rest of AV.; but the stanza is very obscure.

vaptā (ApMB. *vaptrā*; HG MG. *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG °*ti*) *keśaśmaśru* (AG. PG. MG. *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG MG. The fourth pāda has 2d person verb in all; the 3d person of PG. is evidently due

to the nom *vaptā*, felt as subject, tho in the original form (AV) it is merely appositional to the subject   Note that HG MG also feel this as inconsistent, and try to smooth out the syntax by the converse change of *vaptā* to voc *vaptar*; while ApMB has an instrumental *vaptrā*

sam gachatām (RV * *gachasva*) *tanvā* (TA *tanuvā*) *suvarcāh* (RV * TA *jātavedah*) RV (bis) AV (bis) TA   In AV 18 3 58 is repeated RV 10 14 8, with change in this pāda of *gachasva* to *gachatām*, which is inconsistent with the rest of the stanza in which the dead man is directly addrest   The change is obviously due to the influence of the very similar pāda RV 10 16 5d = AV 18 2 10d (this also in TA), which has, consistently, *gachatām*   Note that conversely AV substitutes *suvarcāh* of 18 3 58d = RV 10 14 8d for *jātavedah* of RV 10 16 5d, thus making the two pādas exactly alike

sam (ApMB *śam*) *ūdho romaśam hatah* (ApMB *hathah*) RV ApMB   See Winternitz, p xx of ApMB Introduction, *hathah* is senseless

sarvam tad asmān mā hinsīh (HG *hinsīt*) ApŚ HG   Parallel verbs are 3d person, there is no doubt of the inferiority of ApŚ , which Caland translates by a 3d person

chandonāmānām (with variants) *sāmrājyam gacha* (VSK *gachatāt*; MŚ *gachet*) VS VSK TS ŚB MŚ   The subject is Soma, who is addrest directly in the preceding formulas

trīn samudrān samasrpat svargān (MS °*gah*) VS MS ŚB *samsarpa* (KS °*pan*) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ *svargānl lokān*) KS ApŚ   The subject is addrest in 2d person (*gacha*) in the last part of the stanza in all, and ApŚ , secondarily no doubt, makes *samsarpa* consistent with this   Mahīdhara on VS understands even *samasrpat* as direct address (*he kūrma yo bhavān . . samasrpat*), but the only exprest subject is nom in all (*apām patir vrsabha istakānām*)

viśvā †*deva prtanā abhisya* TB ApŚ HG   *viśvaś ca deva* (PG *devah*) *prtanā abhisyāh* (PG † °*syak*) KS PG ʻO god (let the god) annihilate all the hosts ʼ   *abhisyak* for *abhisyat*, 3d sing injunctive, see Stenzler's Critical Note on PG 3 1 3b   The ʻgodʼ is Agni, who is addrest directly in the preceding pāda even in PG (*svistam agne abhi tat prnīhi*)

§338. (d) We come next to a group of variants in which the change of person is due to a change of subject, while the general context remains essentially the same   Thus
tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsīt (AŚ *santam mā pra hāsīh*) TB. AŚ.

ApŚ . *tıro me yaȷña āyur mā pra hāsīh* (one ms *hāsīt*) MŚ † The subȷect of the 2d person forms ıs Agnı, who ıs addreśt ın thè prec.; that of the 3d persons ıs *āyuh.*

kāmam (AV PB. *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram ā vıśa* (AV *vıveśa*; KS PB *vıśat*) AV KS PB TB. TA AŚ ApŚ. 'Desire has entered the ocean' or the lıke, 'enter thou the ocean (of) desıre' (TA comm : *he dakṣıne samudrasamam kāmam pravıśa)*

ūrdhvo adhvaro asthāt etc , see §337

ahar no atyapīparat MahānU SMB *ahar mātyapīparah* AV. 'The day has brought us across': 'thou (sun) hast brought me across the day.'

pra yam rāye nınīṣası RV · *pra yo rāye nınīṣatı* N. 'Whom thou (Agnı) wılt lead to wealth'· 'who wıll lead (thee, Agnı) to wealth '

mā hınsīh puruṣam ȷagat VS TS MS KS ŚvetU.· *mā hınsīt puruṣān mama* NılarU. The entıre verse ıs addreśt to Rudra, who ıs the grammatıcal subȷect of thıs verb except in NılarU , where the subject is hıs weapon

rarātam ud va vrdhyatı (HG °sı) HG ApMB. Prec by *yat ta etan mukhe 'matam* (HG *matam)* 'If thou shootest up thıs thought ın thy face'· 'ıf thıs bad thought shoots up '

devı vāg yat te vāco tasmın mā dhāh (KB ŚŚ *no adya dhāt)* TS KB GB PB JB AŚ ŚŚ. Vaıt KŚ The subȷect ın KB. ŚŚ. is Vācaspatı, mentıoned ın the prec

vācaspate 'chıdrayā vācāchıdrayā ȷuhvā dıvi devāvṛdham (ŚŚ erroneously, *devā vṛdhan)* hotrām aırayat (KŚ. *aırayant*, TA *erayasva*, ŚŚ *aırayasva) svāhā* (ŚŚ. omıts) ŚB TA ŚŚ KŚ The passage is troublesome, see Eggelıng's note ın *SBE.* 44 122 Sāyana ınterprets *aırayat* as equivalent to a 2d person, and refers the whole passage to Vācaspatı, if he is rıght, thıs variant would belong wıth those lısted ın §332. But Eggelıng translates *aırayat* as a 3d person, referring, apparently, to the *yaȷamāna*; the formula ıs used under certaın condıtıons at his consecratıon (*dīkṣā)*; and thıs seems lıkely to be correct The 2d person form of the variant ıs, of course, addreśt to Vācaspati.

yo devayānah panthās tena yaȷño devān apy etu (KS. *tena devān gacha)* TS KS Subȷect ın KS ıs *ıdā.*

āyur dātra edhı VS ŚB ŚŚ.: *mayo dātre bhūyāt* MS · *vayo dātre* (VSK. *dātra edhı;* KS. PB *dātre bhūyān) mayo mahyam* (TB TA ApŚ *mahyam astu) pratıgrahītre* VSK. KS PB TB. TA. ApŚ. 'Be thou (potency addreśt) life (or the lıke) to the giver' etc , or, 'may there

be strength (or the like) to the giver' etc.   The meaning, of course,
is virtually the same.   Cf. next

śāntir no astu MS   *śāntir me astu śāntih* TA : *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS
Mahīdhara on VS.   *mā, mām prati, edhi, astu, puruṣavyatyayah* (text
by error, *°vyatyamah*).   But this is, of course, a pedantic and un-
necessary assumption; the 2d person is of the same sort as in the
preceding variant

dyaur naḥ pitā pitryāc (TA. *pitryāc*) *cham bhavāti* (TA *°si*) AV TA   In
AV the subject is *dyaur*, in TA the comm takes it as the *yajamāna*,
no doubt correctly, but the entire stanza is obscure

viśvasmai bhūtāyādhvaro 'si (ApŚ. *°ro astu devāḥ*, KS MŚ *bhūtāya
dhruvo astu devāḥ*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ   The subject in TS is
Soma, in the others *yajña;* all refer to *yajña* in the 3d person in the
preceding.

sūryam (TA adds *te*) *cakṣur gachatu* (AV *cakṣuṣā gacha*) *vātam ātmā*
(AV *ātmanā*) RV AV. TA   'Let thy eye go (or, go with thy eye)
to the sun' etc   In the following pādas the dead man is addressed
with *gacha* in all, AV. makes this pāda consistent with them, but
the others are not syntactically inconsistent, since *cakṣuh* is the
grammatical subject in them

sūryasya raśmīn anv ātatāna (MŚ. *ātatantha*) TB. AŚ ApŚ MŚ.   Pre-
ceded by *yad agne pūrvam prabhṛtam* (*prahitam, nihitam*) *padam hi
te*   In MŚ the subject is Agni, in the others, his *padam*

sviṣṭakṛd indrāya devebhyo bhara MS KS ApŚ · *sviṣṭakṛd devebhya
indra ājyena haviṣā bhūt svāhā* VS ŚB.   The subject in most texts
is Agni, in VS. ŚB it is (obviously secondarily) changed to
Indra

samyag āyur yajño (MŚ † *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ. *dhāh*) KS.
MŚ.   See §158

yat te krūram   tat te śudhyatu (TS ApŚ *tat ta etena śundhatām,* MS. *tad
etena śundhasva*) VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ   'Let that of thee become
pure (by this)', or, 'as to that become thou pure by this '

§339. We think it unnecessary to list here cases in which the change of
person accompanies, and is conditioned by, a shift of voice, as between
active and middle or passive, such a shift naturally involves very often
a change of person, and the instances can easily be found from the lists
in §§30, 83 ff., to these should be added the variant: *tās tvā devīr* (*devyo*)
jarase (*°sā*) *sam vyayantu* (*vyayasva*), §70

§340. For cases of this sort in which there is a change of number as
well as person, see §365, and for a couple of cases in which a 2d person
singular of direct address varies with an indefinite 3d plural, see §360

§341. (e) We come now to cases in which the 2d and 3d persons appear in different contexts, with different subjects, each appropriate and consistent. We may begin with a pāda which occurs in the RV. itself in no less than four different verses

asmākam edhy avitā rathānām (AV *tanūnām*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS MS. KS : *asmākam bodhy av° ra°* RV · *as° bodhy av° tanūnām* RV. MS TB TA MahānU · *as° bhūtv av° ta°* RV. AV TA. The last, with its anomalous form *bhūtu*, is obviously a secondary adaptation to a new context with change of person

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB : *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG † (corrupt, read as ApMB , as Kirste and Oldenberg both assume): *adho vadādharo vada* HG The last, which is the only genuine variant, is a conscious imitation of the other, with change of person to suit different context

te devāso (TS *devā*) *yajñam imam juṣadhvam* (AV *juṣantām*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB . *te devāso havir idam juṣadhvam* AV It is the last-quoted form of AV. which appears in the same context with the others; AV 7. 28 1, which reads *juṣantām*, is in a wholly different context.

tṛptā mā tarpayata (MG. *mām tarpayantu*) KS MG Contexts only vaguely similar.

antaś carasy (MS *°ty*) *arnave* AV MS Different contexts

adhaspadam kṛnutām (AV.* *kṛnuṣva;* TS. *kṛnute*) *ye pṛtanyavah* AV. (bis) VS TS, MS. KS ŚB.

bodhāt stomair vayo dadhat MS.. *bodhā stotre vayo dadhat* (ApŚ *vayovṛdhah*) RV. SV ApŚ See §§24, 153 The contexts are different, and MS. is interpretable as it stands but it has a v 1. *bodhā*

mā nah prajām rīriṣo (TB. 3 1 1. 3 *rīriṣan*) *mota vīrān* RV VS ŚB TB (bis). TA TAA. ApŚ SMB. HG. MG N One case in TB. uses the pāda in a quite different context, found nowhere else, the person of the verb is consistent with its surroundings

san me bhūyāh (Kauś *°yāt*) TS MS KS. AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ Kauś Different contexts.

sameddhāram anhasa uruṣyāt (ŚŚ *anhasah pāhi*) RV. ŚŚ

yathāsthānam kalpantām (ApŚ *kalpayadhvam*) ŚB. BṛhU ApŚ *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva* AV. *yathāsthānam dhārayantām ihaiva* ŚŚ Hardly comparable See §241.

āyur no dehi jīvase ŚG.· cf. *āyuṣ te* (AV *āyur no*) *viśvato dadhat* AV etc Hardly comparable.

nyañ uttānām anv eti (and, *eṣi*) *bhūmim* RV. (both) Subjects Indra: Agni.

agnī ra¹śānsi sedhati RV. AV. MS. KS. TB AŚ. ApŚ MŚ Kauś.
apa ra° sedhasi (PrānāgŪ. *cātn¸jat*) AV. PrāṇāgŪ.

jeṣah (and, *jeṣat, aṣaih*) *svarvatīr apah* RV. (all). Indra is the subject
each time, but the contexts are different. See *RVRep*. 39. *ajaih*
is 2d person. The original is *jeṣah*, RV. 1 10 8

abhy arṣanti (and, *arṣati*) *suṣṭuim* RV. (both): *abhy arṣala suṣṭuim
ṣaryam ājim* RV. VS KS. ApŚ. The addition in the latter indi-
cates that it is secondary; but it is consistent with its context

aśmā bharatu nas (AV. *ic*) *tanūh* RV. AV. VS. TS MS KSA.· *aśmen
tiam s'hirā* (MG. ApMB * *sthiro*) *bhara* AG. ŚG SMB. PG. ApMB
HG. MG Cf. also *aśmā bhara paraśur bhara;* see Conc The AV.
context is related to that of the GS texts, and Ppp. reads *aśmen
tram sthiro bhara;* the vulgate AV. has an interesting contamination
with the fundamentally unrelated passage of RV. etc

ā barhih sīdatam sumat RV.: *sīda¸ām barhir ā sumat* RV. Subjects
Aśvins: Night and Dawn.

ado giribhyo adhi yat pradhārasi TB.: *ado yad aradhārati* AV.: *amī ye le
sarasyakā aradhārati* HG. ApMB. (see Winternitz, Introduction,
p. xxvi; he supposes that *aradhārata* is intended, while Kirste and
Oldenberg assume *aradhāranti* for HG): *asau yo 'rasarpati* VS. TS
MS. KS. Four different contexts with different subjects.

imaṁ yajñaṁ mimikṣatām (TB. °*tam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB TB ŚB
ŚŚ. LŚ. Quite different context in TB. ŚŚ from the others, see
§337.

juṣethāṁ (and, °*tām*) *yajñam iṣṭaye* RV. In three different contexts,
two with direct address, one 3d person; different subjects each
time

punar no naṣṭam ākṛdhi (RV. AV. *ājatu*) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS
MŚ.

yat sīm āgaś cakṛmā tat su mṛdatu (and, *mṛda*) RV. (both).

viśvam ā bhāsi (RV.* *bhāti*) *rocanam* (AV.* *rocana*) RV. (tris) AV. (bis)
ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. MahānŪ. Subjects Uṣas, Sūrya, and
Indra.

viśvā adhi śriyo dadhe RV.:....'*dhita* RV. KS. TB : . *dhiṣe* RV.

viśve devāsa iha vīrayadhvam (AV. *mādayadhvam;* VS ŚB Vait. LŚ
mādayantām) RV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB. Vait LŚ ApMB : *viśve devā
iha mādayantām* (KS. *vīrayadhvam*) TS KS TB Two different
contexts, with appropriate persons of verbs in each.

saṁ sūryeṇa rocate RV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA :...*rocase* RV. AV. Subjects
Soma Pavemāna: Uṣas.

vı mucyantām usrıyāh VS. ŚB · *vı mucyadhvam aghnyā* (TA ApŚ.
aghnıyā) *devayānāh* VS MS KS ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ. Hardly
variants of each other.

sa cakārārasam vıṣam AV · *sā cakarthārasam vıṣam* AV

sajātānām asad (AV *aso*) *vaśī* AV. (both) VS TS. MS KS.

sadyo jajñāno havyo babhūtha (and, *babhūva*) RV. (both)   Subjects
Agnı· Indra.

sa vıśvā bhuva ābhavah RV AV   *sa vıśvā bhuvo* (AV *sa ıdam vıśvam*)
abhavat sa ābhavat AV TS TB

stṛnanti (RV * *stṛnīta*) *barhır ānuṣak* RV (both) SV VS MS KS ŚB
TB ApŚ N ·

vıṣe vıṣam apṛkthāh (and, *aprāg apı*) AV (both)

madhu tvā (AV *me*) *madhulā karotu* (AV *karah*, RV *cakāra*, MS
kṛnotu) RV AV. MS TA ApŚ

sa no vasūny ā bhara (SV *bharāt*) RV SV. AV VS TS MS KS   Differ-
ent context ın SV

avıṣam nah pıtum kṛnu (KS *kṛdhı*, TB ApŚ *karat*) VS 2 20 (omıtted
ın Conc) TS KS. ŚB TB. ApŚ   In the last two texts the contevt
ıs dıfferent

For other cases ın whıch there ıs a change of number as well as person,
see §371

§342. (f) Fınally, some ınstances whıch ınclude eıther gross corrup-
tıons or errors of varıous kınds   Others, ınvolvıng number as well as
person, wıll be found below, §372

ıhaıva kṣemya edhı mā prahāsīr mām amum (ApŚ. *prahāsın māmum*)
āmuṣyāyanam (AŚ *mā prahāsīr amum māmuṣyāyanam*) MS AŚ
ApŚ MŚ   The true readıng of ApŚ. can hardly be anythıng but
prahāsīr, as Caland assumes

yatra-yatra jātavedah sambabhūtha (TB °*bhūva;* but Poona ed text and
comm correctly °*tha*) TB ApŚ   *yatra-yatra vıbhṛto* (KS *bıbhrato*)
jātavedāh AV KS   See §262, f

samjñānāneṣu vaı brūyāt AB · *samjānāneṣu vaı brūyāh* ŚŚ   Several mss
of ŚŚ. read *brūyāt*   But Aufrecht 387, conjectures *brūyāh* for
AB , and thıs ıs approved by Keıth, *HOS* 25 307, who so translates

mā tvā vṛkṣah (TA *vṛkṣau*) *sam bādhıṣta* (TA once °*tām*, once *bādhethām*)
AV TA   The form *bādhethām* can hardly be anythıng but a cor-
ruptıon for °*tām, vṛkṣau* ıs accented, and a 3d person ıs requıred;
comm *sambādhıtam mā kurutām*   But perhaps thıs mıght be
placed ın §332

aśrīram (TB.† *aśhlaṁ*) *cit kṛnuthā supratīkam* RV. AV. TB.   Conc.
quotes *kṛnuyāt* for TB.; Bibl. Ind ed. reads in fact *kṛnuthāt*, but
its comm. and Poona ed. text have the correct *kṛnuthā*

teṣām yo ajyānim (PG. *'jyā°*) *ajītim ā vahāt* (SMB Conc *ajījim āvahāh*,
but Jorgensen as the others) TS SMB. PG BDh.

nivarto yo ny avīvṛtat (HG. *avīvṛdhah*) ApMB HG.   The HG. form is
corrupt, Oldenberg adopts *avīvṛtat.*

madhye poṣasya tṛmpatām (MG. *puṣyatām*) ŚG MG : *madhye poṣasva
tiṣṭhantām* AG.   For *poṣasva* read *poṣasya* (Stenzler, Transl)

yamasya loke adhirajjur āyat (TA *āya;* MS. *loke nidhir ajarōya*) AV.
MS. TA.   See §153   TA is probably corrupt, MS is still worse.

adharo mad asau vadāt svāhā ApMB : *adharo vadāsau vadā svāhā* HG.
The latter is corrupt and must be read as ApMB , see §153.

barhi (barhih) stṛnīhi (TS MS MŚ. ApŚ * *stṛnāhi*) TS MŚ. GB ŚB
Vait. KŚ ApŚ. MŚ   The text of MS. reads *stṛṇāti,* presumably
by misprint.

nir ā yachasi madhyame AV ŚŚ.   The vulgate of AV. reads *yachahi*
by Roth's emendation

B VARIANTS CONCERNING NUMBER

§343. We have explained above (§§289–301, especially 301) the
principles of classification adopted for the Number variants, and quoted
examples of the principal types   We now proceed to give the lists in
full, beginning with—

1. *First Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates*

§344. In many—possibly even in most—of these (see §290) the first
person plural is only formally plural, and actually refers to a single
person, the speaker, alone   That is, we have a kind of 'editorial we'.
It is not necessary to suppose that either 'majesty' or 'modesty' is
implied in such cases, tho one or the other may at times be suspected
We begin with a few cases where the 'editorial we' seems particularly
clear, but in general we have made no attempt to sift out such instances
from the general run of variants in which the priest says 'I' or 'we' in
referring to himself and his associates.   For it seems to us practically
impossible to do so in the large majority of instances.   This lies in the
very nature of the case, there is as a rule nothing to show whether the
priestly 'we' means the speaker alone, or includes others of his class.

But in the first three variants, at least, it seems clear that it means the single speaker:

idaṁ vatsyāmo bhoḥ AG.: *om aïaṁ vatsyāmi bhoḥ* ŚG.: *idam vatsyāvah* HG. In AG. ŚG. alike spoken by the brahman-pupil when about to leave his teacher on a journey. In HG. spoken by the teacher at the *upanayana;* the dual includes the boy.

brahmacaryam āgām (MG. *upemasi;* Kauś. text† *āgam,* misprint?) ŚB. Kauś SMB. GG. PG. ApMB ApG. HG. MG. Again spoken by the *brahmacārin* The reason for MG's secondary reading is clearly metrical; MG. makes a verse of the passage which in the others is prose.

śatam ca jīvāmi (MG. *śatam jīvema*) *śaradaḥ purūcīḥ* PG. MG. In the same verse, spoken by the graduate brahman-pupil; MG. otherwise has 1st singular verbs. For other forms of the variant see Conc. and §103. The other texts which show plural verb (*jīvantu*) have a different context.

Once this 'editorial we' varies with a definite first-person dual:

puṁsāṁ bahūnām mātara syāma (HG. °*rau syāva*) ApMB MG. In a .verse spoken by wife to husband; the dual includes the two spouses, while the plural is evidently 'editorial'.

§345. The remaining long list is as follows:

yad aham dhanena (AV. *yena dhanena,* HG. *yad vo devāḥ*) *prapanam* (ApMB. °*naṁś*) *carāmi* (HG. °*ma*) AV. ApMB. HG.

vairūpe sāmann iha (MS. *adhi;* KS. *vairūpeṇa sāmnā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS *chakema;* MS *tañ śakeyam*) TS. MS KS. AŚ. Followed by: *jagatyainam* (AŚ. °*tyenam*) *vikṣv āveśayāmi* (AŚ. °*ni;* TS. °*mah*), same texts

mā mā (TB. AŚ. ApŚ. *no*) *hāsīn* (MŚ. *hāsīr,* AŚ. *hiṁsīd*) *nāthito* (TB. ApŚ. *metthito,* AŚ. *dhvṁsito dadhāmi,* some mss. omit *dadhāmi*) *net* (AŚ. MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāmi* (AV. KS. °*ni,* TB. ApŚ. °*ma*) AV. KS. TB AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

idaṁ pitṛbhyaḥ pra bharāmi (TA. *bharema*) *barhiḥ* AV. TA. Followed by:

jīvaṁ devebhya uttaram stṛṇāmi AV.· *devebhyo jīvanta uttaraṁ bharema* TA. TA. spoils the meter.

yad dhastābhyāṁ cakara (AV. *cakṛma*) *kilbiṣāṇi* AV. MS. TB. TA.. *yam aichāma* (ApŚ. *ichāmi*) *manasā so 'yam āgāt* RV. ApŚ.

samānena (TB. *saṁjñānena*) *vo haṁsā juhomi* (TB. *yajāmah*) RV. AV. MS TB.

emam panthām arukṣāma AV.: *sugam panthānam ārukṣam* ApMB

tena tvā parı dadhması (PG *dadhāmy āyuṣe*) AV PG.   Different con-
texts, only vaguely parallel

bhūpate bhuvanapate   tvā vṛnīmahe (MŚ *vṛne*) TB Vaıt KŚ ApŚ MŚ

pragāyāmasy agratah PG. ApMB   *pragāyāmy asyāgratah* MG   Note
the metathesis of the syllable *sya!*

abadhıṣma rakṣo   VS VSK ŚB   ıdam aham rakṣo 'va bādhe VS MS
KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ : *avadhıṣma rakṣah* TS MS KS TB ApŚ
Hardly true varıants

apaśyaṁ yuwatım nīyamānām AV . *apaśyāma yu° ācarantīm* TA

achıdrah prajayā bhūyāsam ApŚ ApMB HG   cf *arıṣṭā asmākam
vīrāh (santu), arıṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma,* etc , see Conc Hardly true
varıants.

tasya doham aśīmahı (KS *aśīya,* AŚ *aśīya te*) VS MS KS TB ŚB TA
AŚ ŚŚ.

tūm adya gāthām gāsyāmı (MG *°mah*) PG MG.

te yam dvıṣmo yaś ca no dveṣṭı tam eṣām (TS ApMB * *vo) jambhe dadhmah*
(TS KS ApMB * *dadhāmı*) VS TS MS KS ŚB ApMB (both).

anu manyasva suyajā yajāma (MŚ *yaje hı*) TS MŚ   But most mss
of MŚ read *yajeha (yaja ıha),* whıch would make *yaja* a 2d person
addrest to Agnı like *anu manyasva*

asmın sahasram puṣyāsam (Kauś *puṣyāsma*) ŚB BṛhU Kauś

ugram sahodām ıha tam huvema (MS *huve*) RV VS TS MS KS TB
ŚB   Bad meter ın MS

ud asthām amṛtān anu VSK TS MS KS ŚB. TA AŚ ApMB : *ud
asthāmāmṛlā vayam* (HG *abhūma*) AV HG

gātrānām te gātrabhājo bhūyāsma (KS *°bhāg bhūyāsam*) TS. KS Prose

pṛchāmı (LŚ *°mas*) *tvā param antam pṛthıvyāh,*

pṛchāmı (LŚ *°mo*) *yatra* (TS KSA TB *tvā,* AV *vıśvasya*) *bhuvanasya
nābhıh* (AV TS KSA TB *°ım*),

pṛchāmı (LŚ *°mas*) *tvā* (AV omıts) *vṛṣno aśvasya retah,*

pṛchāmı (LŚ *°mo*) *vācah paramam vyoma* RV AV VS TS KSA TB
LŚ , and the first pāda ın ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vaıt.

brahman prasthāsyāmah (GB ŚB KŚ ŚŚ *°mı*) TS KB GB ŚB AŚ
ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ.

brahmann apah praneṣyāmı AŚ Vaıt KŚ ApŚ MŚ . *brahman praneṣ-
yāmah* KB

yasmaı ca tvā khanāmy aham (Kauś *khanāması*) VS Kauś . *yasmaı
cāham khanāmı vah* RV. VS TS

tūcah satyam aśīmahı (VS ŚB *aśīya*) RVKh VS ŚB TB   Bad meter
in VS ŚB.

vaiśvānarāya pratı vedayāmah (AV. °*mi*) AV TA. BDh

ʾ*agnım ındram* (TB *agnī ındrā*) *vrtrahanā huve 'ham* (TB *vām,* MS °*hanam huvema*) AV. MS TB

etam yuvānam patım (TS *pari*) *vo dadāmı* TS ŚG PG VıDh · *etam vo yuvānam pratı dadhmo atra* AV

sugā (TS ApŚ *svagā*) *vo devāh sadanā* (TS N. °*nam*) *akarma* (MS *krnomı,* KŚ Kauś ApŚ *sadanānı santu*) AV. VS TS MS ŚB KŚ. Kauś ApŚ N : *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS

jīvā (TB ApŚ. *jīvo*) *jīvantīr upa vah sadema* (TB. ApŚ. *sadeyam*) AV. KS TB. MŚ ApŚ.

tam (RV. omits) *sarasvantam avase huvema* (AV *havāmahe;* RV KS *johavīmı*) RV. RVKh. AV. TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ.

brhaspatim vah. havāmahe GB Vaıt *brhaspatim vıśvān devān aham huve* RV. It ıs doubtful whether these are really related

marudām pıtas tad aham grnāmı (MS *grne te,* KS *pitar uta tad grnīmah*) TS. MS KS.

mā (VS ŚB add *vayam*) *rāyaspoṣena vı yauṣma* VS. MS ŚB . *māham rā° vi yoṣam* TS KS TA. ApŚ

mıtrasya (MS. adds *vaś*) *cakṣuṣā samīkṣāmahe* VS MS : cf. *mitrasyāham cakṣuṣā. .samīkṣe,* etc , see Conc and §303.

rudrasya sūnum havasā grnīması (and, *vıvāse*) RV (both). The change is metrıcal, *triṣṭubh* and *jagatī* verses.

vājasyedam (AV VS ŚB *vājasya nu*) *prasava ābabhūva* (AV °*ve sam babhūvima*) AV. VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB

vıśvaır viśvāñgaıh saha sam bhavema (MŚ *bhavāmı*) AV. MŚ

sam jyotiṣābhūma (TS °*bhūvam*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB. ŚŚ · *sam sūryasya jyotiṣāganma* AV In most texts, but not ın TS, juxtaposed wıth formulas contaınıng 1st plural expressıons.

tasmın pāśān pratımuñcāma etān MS KS : *yam dvıṣmas tasmın pratımuñcāmı pāśam* TS ApŚ.

suprajāh prajayā (*prajābhıh*) *bhūyāsam* (*syām; syāma, bhūyās*) See Conc , an ıntrıcate tangle of formulas, ıt is doubtful to what extent they are true varıants of each other The plur. *syāma* only ın VS ŚB , whıch elsewhere have the sing form too; VSK has sıng ın the passage correspondıng to the plur. of VS.

yam tvā somenātītrpāma (TS °*pam;* MŚ. °*pan*) VS TS ŚB MŚ

ena enasyo 'karam (TB '*karat*) AV. TB (see §315): *enānsı* (TS KS * TB.* *enaś*) *cakrmā vayam* AV VS TS MS KS * TB * And others, see Conc In adjoınıng stanzas of AV.

huvema vājasālaye RV. SV MS KS *huveya vā°* RV AV Cf *havante ıā°,* §316

anu tvendrārabhāmahe AV.· *anu tvā rabhe* AV etc (see Conc).   The
    latter is prose, the former is made metrical

ava (RV. *abhi*, MS *ā vah*, VS ŚB *vācā*) *somam nayāmasi* (RV *mṛśāmasi;*
    VS ŚB *ava nayāmi*) RV AV VS TS. MS KS ŚB.

āganta pitarah pitṛmān aham yuṣmābhir bhūyāsam   TS : *āganta pitarah*
    supitaro vayam yuṣmābhir bhūyāsma MŚ

tāni te pari dadmasi AV · *tām* (ApŚ * *tāns*) *te paridadāmy aham* (TA.
    omits *aham*) TA ApŚ   In different contexts

tebhiś chidram api dadhmo yad atra MS AŚ   *teṣām chidram prati dadhmo*
    yad atra KS : *teṣām chinnam sam etad* (ŚŚ *sam imam*, TS. *praty*
    etad) *dadhāmi* VS TS ŚŚ

devasyāham (VSK MS KS MŚ *devasya vayam*) *savituh prasave* (*save*)
    ، *jeṣam* (VSK MS KS MŚ *jeṣma*) VS VSK. TS MS. KS ŚB.
    TB ApŚ MŚ

devasyāham (VSK *devasya vayam*) *savituh save   aruham* (VSK.
    aruhāma   ) VS VSK ŚB   Other texts have *ruheyam;* see §133.

vājinam tvā vājino 'vanayāmah (MS *vājiny avanayāmi*) MS TA ApŚ.

teṣu (ŚG *anyeṣv*) *aham sumanāh sam viśāmi* (AŚ °*ni;* MG. *vasāma,*
    ŚG *viśeyam*) AŚ ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB MG   See §104, c.

adha syāma surabhayo (ApŚ corruptly, *syām asur ubhayor*) *gṛheṣu*
    AV. KS ApŚ   The ApŚ reading is worthless

jagṛhmā (RV °*bhmā*, TB °*bhnā*) *te dakṣinam indra hastam* RV. SV. MS.
    TB.   The TB form may be felt as 1st person sing (subj.); but see
    Ludwig on RV 10. 47 1

[*agne vratapate vratam acāriṣam*, for this Conc. quotes KS as *acāriṣma,*
    ֡ by error]

§346. In the following, one form or the other is more or less at vari-
ance with the context   This does not necessarily mean that the con-
sistent form is more original

śivam prajābhyo 'hinsantam   agnim   khanāmah (TS KS °*mi*) VS.
    TS MS KS ŚB   A parallel formula just before this has *khanāmi*
    in all texts

idam śreyo (AV *idam uc chreyo*) '*vasānam āgām* (ApMB. *āganma devāh;*
    ApŚ. °*nam yad āgām*) AV ApŚ ApMB   Even in ApMB (tho
    it has a different context) first-singular verbs occur in the preceding
    line of the stanza

*yac cāham eno vidvāñś cakāra   VS ŚŚ   *yac cāham eno vidvāñsaś* ·
    cakṛma.. MahānU   The latter is obviously and flagrantly incon-
    sistent with its context.   The comm lamely supplies a separate
    verb, *akārṣam*, with *aham*

indrasya manmahe śaśvad id asya manmahe AV : *indrasya manve prathamasya pracetasah* TS MS KS In the following pāda all have the sing pronoun 'me'.

tam tvā juṣāmahe VS MS KS ŚB · *tam tvā juṣe* TS ApŚ The preceding and parallel formula is 1st sing in all; presumably TS has secondarily changed this to be consistent with it

aṅhomuce pra bharemā (AV *bhare*) *maṇīṣām* AV. TS MS. KS. Haplology naturally suggests itself to us, as it did to Lanman ap. Whitney on AV 19 42 3, the meter, and the Ppp reading *bharemā*, seem to confirm the suggestion Yet the curious fact is to be noted that at the end of the next pāda MS. has the singular participle *āvṛṇānaḥ* as in AV (while yet reading *bharemāᶦ*); TS. KS. consistently show plural participles

śarman (MS. °*mans*) *te syāma* (VS. *tava syāma śarmans;* TS *tava syām śarman*) *trivarūtha udbhau* (TS *udbhit*) VS TS. MS. KS TA Note that VS. is hypermetric, TS , with the same order and non-enclitic *tava* for *te,* corrects the meter with its *syām;* it is however clearly secondary; plural pronouns referring to 'us' occur in all texts in the preceding pāda

adveṣe (MS. °*ṣye*) *dyāvāpṛthivī huvema* (MS. *huve*) RV. VS. MS. The MS. reading is not only bad metrically but inconsistent with the pronoun *asme* in the next pāda.

edho 'sy edhiṣīmahi (AV. °*ṣīya*) AV. VS. etc. etc. Not only in AV., but also in several texts showing plural verb, the same verse contains the phrase *tejo mayi dhehi,* with sing pronoun.

sarvān agnīṅr (AV. *śivān agnīn*) *apsuṣado huve vah* (MS *huve;* AV. *havāmahe*) AV. TS MS AB. The AV. is inconsistent with *mayi* of the next pāda, but it probably has the original reading, 'corrected' in the others. We infer this from the bad meter of MS. and the fact that TS AB. use the 'patch-word' *vah* to correct the meter.

sutarmāṇam adhi nāvam ruhema (KS. *ruheyam*) RV. TS. MS. KS. The KS· reading is inconsistent with *tarema* of the preceding pāda. But to call it 'absurd' and 'a mere blunder' (Keith on TS. 1. 2. 2. 2) is an exaggeration Keith would probably not have used such strong language if he had seen the evidence of the Variants as to the frequency of such things

tam vah suprītam subhrtam akarma (KS. *abhārṣam*) TS. KS. In the next formula KS. also has *nah.*

vāmī te saṃdṛśi viśvaṃ reto dheṣīya (KS. *dhiṣīya*) MS. KS.: *viśvasya te viśvāvato vṛṣṇiyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu saṃdṛśi viśvā retāṃsi*

dhiṣīya TS · *vāmī nāma samdṛśi viśvā vāmāni dhīmahi* JB. The
last is inconsistent.

For a few similar variants between first plural and second singular,
see §307, end

2 *Second Person Singular and Plural, referring to the priests and their associates*

§347. As we found above (§307, cf. §290) the 2d person varying with
the first in reference to the *yajamāna* or priest, the participant in or
beneficiary of the rite, so we have here a few cases of 2d person verbs,
singular and plural, used variously in reference to such persons. But
the instances are very rare compared to the corresponding ones in the
first person.

tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam VS ŚB : *tam anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam*
TS KS Mahīdhara says, *he ṛtvijah*   In TS KS presumably the
yajamāna is meant

yamam rājānam haviṣā duvasya (TA. °*syata,* AV. *saparyata*) RV. AV.
MS TA   The priest here addresses either himself or an associate
Sāyaṇa, *he madīyāntarātman yajamāna vā*   The plural of TA. AV.
is a lect. fac

ut sṛjata (SMB GG. *sṛja*) *gām* LŚ SMB GG : *om utsṛjata* (MG. °*tu*)
TA. ŚŚ AG PG ApMB ÁpG. HG MG.   (But Jörgensen reads
in SMB with comm —his text mss omit the formula—*om ut
sṛjata!*)   The object (generally understood) is the cow at the
Arghya rite   'Let it loose!'' is spoken by the recipient if he does not
wish it killed   Addrest to the person(s) holding the cow, or the giver
of it —Some texts have in the same context various forms of the
following variant (meaning 'do it!', i e 'kill the cow', if he wishes it
killed).   But the word occurs also in various other connexions:

om kuruta· kuru· kuruta kuruṣva kurudhvam   See Conc   Only in
part belonging to related contexts and variants of one another, see
under prec

pāpmānam me hata (Kauś '*pa jahi*) MG. Kauś

abhi (AV. *pari*) *stṛṇīhi pari dhehi vedim* AV TB ApŚ   *paristṛṇīta pari-
dhattāgnim* TB. ApŚ · *stṛṇīta barhih pari dhatta vedim* KS MŚ.
The second occurrence of TB. ApŚ. is in a different verse, but one
modelled on the other and in the same vicinity.   The comm on AV.
and also that on TB (both times) regard *darbha*-grass (sing or
plur) as addrest   But ApŚ introduces the formula with *sampreṣ-
yati,* indicating that it is a command to an associate priest.   The

ApŚ comm remarks that, since no other priest than the *adhvaryu* (who speaks here) 'strews', the *adhvaryu* addresses himself with this command[1] (cf Sāyaṇa on *yamam rājānam* etc. above) That priests, or at least a priest, and not *darbha*-grass, are addrest seems clear from the KS MŚ variant, where *barhiḥ* is the *object agnīñ jyotiṣmataḥ kuruta* (MŚ *kuru*) ApŚ MŚ 'Light the fires!' Address to priest(s) or attendant(s), not clearly specified.

3 *Subject pluralized or dualized, varying with the same subject in the singular*

§348. We have referred (§296) to the variants in which a singular verb with singular subject is, as it were, multiplied to a dual or plural They fall naturally into two groups   The first, with which we are here concerned, includes those in which the same subject, in the same or at least a very similar context, and without the inclusion of any different entity, is pluralized or dualized, the number of the verb changing with it   The second group (§§353 ff.), in which the dual or plural is formed by the inclusion of another entity or entities than the singular subject, will be treated in the next subdivision   Instances of the converse, that is substitution of a singular for plural in the like circumstances, are equally common and are included in the list which follows   We begin with cases of

§349. Singular and Plural

vi parjanyam (TS. °*yāḥ*) *sṛjanti* (MS KŚ *pra parjanyaḥ sṛjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV TS MS KS   In RV the subject is the Maruts, in the others, Parjanya, singular or plural   The RV. form in relation to the others belongs in §361 below, q v.

agne gṛhapata upa mā hvayasva KS ApŚ MŚ . *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait , cf. *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* SB   'O Agni house-lord (or, O Fires), invite me '

ārtavo 'dhipatir āsīt TS : *ārtavā adhipataya āsan* VS. ŚB.: *ṛtavo 'dhipatayā āsan* MS KS   'The season(s, or the like) was (were) overlord(s) '

dviṣan me bahu śocatu TB ApŚ : *dviṣantas tapyantām bahu* MŚ.   In the preceding pāda all texts refer to a singular 'hater'.

upahūtopahvayasva; upahūtā upahvayadhvam MŚ (both)

ekaśapham asṛjyata MS . *ekaśaphāḥ paśavo 'sṛjyanta* VS TS KS. ŚB. Here the singular is really a collective and means the same as the plural: 'one-hoofed (animals) were created '

dhiṣaṇās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ (MS. MŚ. *dhiṣaṇā tvā devī viśvadevya-*

vati)...*abhīndhatām* (MS. once *abhīnddhām,* once *abhīndhātām*) VS.
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. and (pratīka) MŚ. Since a dual form cannot
be construed, it seems that the form *abhīndhātām* (if not corrupt)
is a bastard subjunctive-imperative blend, intended to be 3d singular
(like *abhīnddhām,* the proper form).

manojavās tvā pitṛbhir (KS. *pitaro*) *dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* (KS. *pāntu*) VS TS.
KS. ŚB.: *manojavaso vah pitṛbhir dakṣiṇata upa dadhatām* TA.:
pitaras tvā manojavū dakṣiṇataḥ pāntu MS. In the same passage
The form *manojavās* is plural in MS KS , singular in the others.

śundhantām lokāḥ pitṛṣadanāḥ VS MS. KS. ŚB MŚ : *śundhatām lokah
pitṛṣadanaḥ* TS. ApŚ. 'Let the world(s)_where the fathers sit be
purified '

dūrvā rohantu puṣpiṇīh (AV. *rohatu puṣpiṇī*) RV. AV. 'Let flowering
dūrvā-plant(s) grow.' Some mss of AV , followed by comm.
and SPP., read as RV., and Whitney reports Ppp. likewise.

miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV.: *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau*
AV.

indraghoṣas (KS. °*ṣās*) *tvā vasubhiḥ* (KS † *vasavah*) *purastāt pātu* (KS.
pāntu) VS TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

mā te riṣann upasattāro agne AV.: *mā ca riṣad upasattā te agne* VS. TS.
MS KS

imam yajñam avatu yā (AŚ. *no*) *ghṛtācī* (TS *avantu no ghṛtācīḥ*) TS MS.
KS. AŚ. Subject is the *śakvarī*-verse(s), singular or (TS) plural.

śunam kīnāśā abhi (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaih* (AV.
TS *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB

vāk patamgo aśiśriyat (KS °*gā aśiśrayuh*) AV KS The same pāda is
read: *vāk patamgāya dhāyate* (TS. *śiśriye,* MS. *hūyate*), with middle or
passive verb and different subject, in RV. AV. SV. ArS VS TS.
MS. ŚB.

anavahāyāsmān (KS. adds *devi dakṣiṇe*) *devayānena pathā* (TS *patheta,*
KS *pathā yatī*) *sukṛtām loke sīdata* (KS. *sīda*) TS. MS. KS Plural
in TS MS. because the *dakṣiṇās* there addrest are plural; in KS.
they are considered collectively, or (better) as a personified abstrac-
tion, and hence singular. In the same context, and due to the same
circumstances:

asmadrātā (TS. *asmaddātrā;* MS. ŚŚ. add *madhumatīr,* KS. *madhumatī*)
devatrā gachata (KS. *gacha;* TS adds *madhumatīh*) VS TS MS. KS.
ŚB. ŚŚ ApŚ. And:

pradātāram ā viśata (KS. *viśa*) VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

Quite similar to the preceding three variants is the group of the next
three, all in the same passage in the YV Samhitās·

raudrenānīkena pāhi māgne (VS *pāta māgnayah*) VS TS M⌐ KS ŚŚ :
Followed by.

pipṛhi mā (KS *māgne*) TS MS KS ŚŚ *pipṛta māgnayah* (PB ŚŚ
mā) VS PB AŚ ŚŚ Vait And —

mā mā hinsīh (*hinsiṣṭa*), see Conc (This last occurs very frequently,
and in other connexions) In these three cases either various altar-
fires are addrest, or Fire collectively, or the same personified, as
Agni(s).

yad aśuddhah parājaghāna KS . *yad vo 'śuddhāh parā jaghnur* (VSK
'*śuddhah parā jaghānaitad*) VS VSK ŚB See §30

pracetās tvā rudraih paścāt pātu VS TS KS ŚB *praceta* (here felt as
plural) *vo rudraih paścād upa dadhatām* TA *rudrās tvā pracetasah
paścāt pāntu* MS

yat paśur māyum akṛta TS ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ SMB GG · *yad vaśā
māyum akrata* Kauś In Kauś *vaśā(h)* is plural, all mss. *akrata*

ye no dviṣanty anu tān rabhasva AV *yo no dveṣṭi tanūm rabhasva* MŚ.:
yo no dveṣṭy anu tam ravasva (read *rabhasva?*) ApŚ·

varūtrayo janayas tvā pacantūkhe TS . *var ūtrī* (and, *varu°*) *tvā* ..
pacatām ukhe MS : *janayas tvā pacantūkhe* VS MS KS ŚB.

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*; TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)
sūreh (AV *sūrih*, TS ŚvetU *sūrāh*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV. VS TS.
MS KS ŚB ŚvetU.

anu me dīkṣām dīkṣāpatir manyatām (KS °*patayo manyadhvam*, ŚB.*
°*patir amansta*) VS TS KS GB ŚB (bis) Vait.

ā me graho bhavatu (KSA *grahā bhavantu*) *ā puroruk* TS KSA.

abhy arṣati (and, *arṣanti*) *suṣṭutim, pavamānā abhy arṣanti suṣṭutim*
RV (all) Subject is Soma Pavamāna, sing or plur , see *RVRep.*
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aido me bhagavo 'janiṣṭhā maitrāvarunah MS · *aidā me bhagavanto
'janidhvam maitrāvarunāh* MŚ And, in same passage, *ūrjā me
bhagavah saha janiṣṭhāh* (MŚ *bhagavantah sahājanidhvam*) MS MŚ :
jñātram me vinda (MŚ *vindata*), *samvidam me vinda* (MŚ *vindata*)
MS MŚ *punyā punyam* (and, °*yām*) *asūt*, and *citrā citram* (and,
°*rām*) *asūt* MS , *punyāh* (and, *citrāś*) *punyān* (°*yā*, and *citrān, citrā*)
asuvan MŚ

prathamam artiin yuyotu nah MG *pia sa* (read *su*) *mṛtyum yuyotana*
HG · *pra sumartyam* (ApMB *su mṛtyum*) *yuyotana* SMB ApMB.
Subject is a god or gods, not clearly specified anywhere

tena brahmāno vapatedam asya (ŚG *adya*) AV TB AG ŚG PG HG
    ApMB   *tena brāhmanó vapatu* MG · *tenāsyāyuṣe vapa* ApMB
    See §330

tena yantu yajamānāh svasti MS   *tenaitu yajamānah svasti* (KS * ApŚ
    svastyā) TS KS ApŚ   The real motive for MS's change may have
    been metrical, the plural may be understood as one of respect, but
    for plurality and duality of *yajamānas* see in Conc under *agnim
    adya hotāram (avṛnītām)*

āyuṣmatyā (°*tya*) *ṛco mā gāta* (Vait *māpagāyā*, Kauś *mā satsi*)   TS
    AŚ ŚŚ Vait Kauś   One or more priests are addrest   Caland on
    Vait   would read °*gāyata*, presumably because the surrounding
    parallel phrases are plural, but the sing is supported by Kauś

ud rathānām (AV *vīrānām*) *jayatām yantu ghoṣāh* (AV TS °*tām etu
    ghoṣah*) RV AV VS SV TS

upaitu mām devasakhah RVKh Rvidh   *upa yantu mām devaganāh* MG

niṣañgina upa spṛśata HG   *niṣañginn upa spṛśa* ApMB   Rudra is
    meant, and is referred to in the singular in other formulas in the
    context of HG ; we may understand the plural to refer to the Rud-
    ras, or Rudra's 'hosts'

pavantām āntarikṣyā RV SV   *patatām ā* °RV   And

pavante vāre avyaye RV SV   *pavate v° a°* RV   The subject is soma,
    singular or plural   The plural occurrences are found in the midst
    of *ṛcas* with singular soma referred to, see Bloomfield, *RVRep* 427

atho (TS MS *athā*) *yūyam stha* (MS KS *tvam asi*) *niṣkṛtīh* (TS *samk°*,
    MS *samkṛtih*, KS *niṣkṛtih*) RV VS TS MS KS   Addrest to
    herbs, or (MS KS) to an herb, but the singular reading is incon-
    sistent with the rest of the verse, both prec and following pādas,
    where even MS. KS have plur

trāyatām marutām ganah RV.. *trāyantām marutām gaṇāh* AV

bhaga(s) stha bhagasya vo lapsīya KS ApŚ   *bhago 'si bh° la°* MŚ   Ad-
    dressed to cakes, one of which is taken by each of the participants
    in the rite.   Plur thinks of the plurality of cakes, sing. thinks of
    each person addressing his own cake   'Ye are (thou art) luck' etc

idā (p p *idāh;* MS *idāh;* KS *idās*) *stha*   TS MS KS   *ilāsi* ŚŚ

§350. Singular, Dual, and Plural

asā (*asāv*) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ *tanuhi jyotiṣā*) MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ And
    nkāras in MŚ   *amū anu mā tanutam, amī anu mā tanuta*

§351. Singular and Dual

tatra rayiṣṭhīm anu sambharaitam (AŚ *sambhavatām*, MŚ *sambharetām*)
    TB ApŚ AŚ MŚ   See §330

nīlalohitam bhavati (ApMB *°te bhavatah*) RV AV. ApMB   The bridal garment, which is made dual (i e of two pieces) in ApMB , 'becomes blue-red '

viśvakarmans tanūpā asi ŚB . *viśvakarmānau tanūpau me sthah* ŚŚ Followed in both by a series of formulas addrest to two sacred fires; in ŚŚ this formula is assimilated to them, *viśva°* being made an epithet of the fires

viṣṇor manasā pūte sthah (Kauś also, *pūtam asi*) MS KS ApŚ. MŚ Kauś (both)   GG KhG   Strainers are referred to, two are mentioned in Kauś in the sūtra just preceding the one which has the singular form

mā tvā vṛkṣah (TA *vṛkṣau*) *sam bādhiṣṭa* (TA *°tām*, and *bādhethām*) AV TA (bis)   The TA refers to two pieces of wood

so'dhvarā karah jātavedāh AB   *kṛṇotu so adhvarāñ* (VS TB *°rā*) *jātavedāh* VS MS KS TB ApŚ   *kṛṇutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ.

§352. **Dual and Plural**

ahorātrās (KS TA *°trāni*) *te kalpantām* VS KS ŚB TA   *ahorātre te* (TB *me*) *kalpetām* MS TB 'Days-and-nights' or 'day-and-night'

rājānam samgāyata (PG *°gāyetām*) ŚG. PG   Subject, lute-players, two in PG , more than two in ŚG , who are commanded to 'sing of the king'

agner jihvām abhi (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jihvām, abhi*, AV KS *jihvayābhi*) *gṛṇītam* (AV *gṛṇata*) AV. VS TS MS KS   The subject is certain 'divine *hotars*', plural in AV , dual in the others, according to Mahīdhara on VS they are Agni and Vāyu, acc to Griffith on VS , Agni with Āditya or Varuna, or Agni celestial and terrestrial   The AV comm is missing, Griffith on AV. understands 'priests of the gods', Ludwig omits the verse in his translation, and Weber omits the entire hymn

sampṛca (*°ah, °as*) *stha sam mā bhadrena pṛṅkta* VS VSK KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ   *sampṛcau sthah sam mā bhadrena pṛṅktam* VS. ŚB   And, in same passage

vipṛca (*°ah, °as*) *stha vi mā* (MŚ. omits *mā*) *pāpmanā* (VSK. *pāpena*) *pṛṅkta· vipṛcau stho vi mā pāpmanā pṛṅktam*, same texts   VSK has plural in place of the dual of VS   Addrest to *grahas*, in the dual passage only two in VS ŚB. (*somasurāgrahau*, comm), but in the preceding part of the formula a plurality of them is addresst in these texts also.

vājino vājajito vājam sariṣyanto etc , and *vājinau vājajitau vājam jitvā* etc , also:

vājino vājayūto vājam saspvānso etc , and *vājinau vājayūlau vājam jūtvā*
etc , both VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ. For the various readings
see §329 Either two horses of the racing team, or the entire team,
are alternatively addrest or referred to in this ritual formula

agnum adya hotāram (avṛnītām, and *avṛnata*) ŚŚ , see Conc under
this item.

4 Subject pluralized or dualized by the inclusion of a different entity or entities from that designated in the singular form

§353. Here the dual or plural goes with a subject which includes both
the subject of the singular form and some other entity or entities, referred
to in the context   It differs from the preceding class in that the 'mul-
tiplication' is accomplished by including a disparate person or thing
As before, the process works both ways, sometimes addition or multipli-
cation, sometimes subtraction or division   Very frequently this mani-
fests itself in the following way a series of coordinate nouns is the joint
subject of a plural verb, while in another form of the same formula the
verb is made singular, agreeing nominally with the nearest subject alone.
There is, of course, no real difference in the sense in such cases   All
three numbers occur in the first variant, which is somewhat complicated·

§354. Singular, Dual and Plural

indram karmasv āvatam (MS VS * *ᶜta*) RV AV VS (both) MS KS
ŚB TB ApŚ   *indram karmasv avatu* MS   *indra karmasu no 'vata*
VS KS   *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB (see below)   All in essen-
tially the same stanza, with sometimes extensive modifications
The original (RV) subject is the Aśvins, who are meant by the dual
verb   The plural includes Sarasvatī, named (in this version) in the
preceding pāda, or Sarasvatī and Indra, in the variant reading
indra (voc)   In the singular form the subject is Sarvasvatī alone,
as nearest subject (MS)   The TB , if the reading were correct
would be interpretable with Indra as subject, but the Poona ed text
and comm , and the comm of the Bibl Ind ed , read *indra*   *'vata,*
like the second version of VS KS

§355. Singular and Plural

āsīdantu (SV *āsīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB adds *varuno*) *aryamā* RV. SV
VS TB   Followed by *prātaryāvāno adhvaram*   The real subject
in RV is the gods in general, *mitro aryamā* are merely examples
(Sāyana *yo mitro devo yaś cāryamā ye cānye prātaryāvānah
devās* etc)   But both SV and TB were troubled by the seeming
disagreement (two gods, plural verb), and each tried to better the

construction—SV. by making the verb singular (agreeing with the
nearer subject, *mitro*), TB by inserting *varuno* and thus providing
three subjects

mā vo riṣat (Kauś *te riṣan*) *khanitā* RV. VS TS Kauś   The rest of the
verse reads in Kauś · *yasmai ca ivā khanāmasi, dvipāc catuṣpād
asmākam mā riṣad devy oṣadhe*.   The plural in a is awkward, but
is evidently conditioned by thought of the other subjects in b. c·
'may they (all) not be harmed, (namely) thy digger, he for whom
we dig thee, our bipeds and quadrupeds' etc   Perversely, Kauś
has a singular in d (*mā riṣad devy oṣadhe*) where a plural would be
simpler, it is to be explained as a collective, see under §358   The
others have a different pāda d

samvatsaraś ca kalpatām (most mss of TA. *lalpantām*) TA MahānU.
Preceded by *ardhamāsā māsā ṛtavah*   The TA comm knew both
readings, after explaining *kalpatām*, with subject *samvatsarah*, he
goes on· *kalpantām iti bahuvacanapāṭhe sarve 'pi kālaṁśeṣāḥ   iti
yojyam* —The formulas *samvatsaro me kalpatām* and *samvatsaras
te ka°* (see Conc) have no real connexion with this one

apām garbham vy adadhāt (MS °*dhuh*) *purutrā* VS TS. MS KS   The
subject in VS. TS KS is *pitā*, mentioned in the prec pāda, in
MS it either includes the three personages mentioned in pādas
a–c (Viśvakarman, gandharva, and *pitr*), or possibly it is a generaliz-
ing plural (cf. §359)

ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah TB : *kṛtān nah pāhy anhasah* (TA *enasah*) MS
TA   In the prec two pādas first *dvāvāpṛthivī* are addrest, then
sarasvatī.   The verb agrees with the nearer subject in MS. TA ,
while in TB it includes both

savitā tarca ādadhāt (MG °*dhuh*) TB MG   Preceded by. *tubhyam
indro* (MG adds *varuno*) *brhaspatih*   In MG. the subject is made
to include the gods mentioned in the prec pāda, while in TB it
agrees with *savitā* alone

rucam no dhatta (MS *dhehi*) *brhaspate* VS TS MS KS   Preceded by·
indrāgnī tābhih sarvābhih   The plural verb includes *indrāgnī* as
well as *brhaspate* as subject

ūrdhvayā diśā (ŚŚ *diśā saha*, TS AŚ *ūrdhvāyām diśi*) *yajñah samvatsaro*
(TS ŚŚ add *yajñapatir*, AŚ °*rah prajāpatir*) *mārjayantām* (MS
AŚ °*yatām*) TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ —KS is unsyntactical in that
it has a plural verb with only two subjects   In MS AŚ the verb
is made singular, agreeing with the nearest subject only

yajumānāya dravinam dadhātu (VS ŚB KS * *dadhāta*) AV VS VSK
 TS MS KS (both) ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ   A long series of gods named
 in the preceding, in the majority of texts the verb is sing agreeing
 with only the last   On the change of person see §332

sraddhā prajā (read *prajñā*?) *ca medhā ca tilāh śāntim kurvantu svāhā*
 MahānU   *śraddhāmedhe prajñā tu jātavedah samdadātu svāhā*
 TAA   In the latter the verb agrees with *prajñā*, the nearer subject

sūryah (also, *somah*) *pavitram sa mā punātu* ApŚ   *vāyuh somah sūrya*
 indrah pavitram te mā punantu N

hotā yakṣad aśvinau (°*nā*) *sarasvatīm indram suramnām somānām*
 pibatu madantām vyantu (KS *indram sutrāmānam somānām*
 surāmnām juṣantām vyantu pibantu soman surāmnah, AŚ *indram*
   [as KS]   *pibantu madantu somān* etc) MS KS AŚ   In MS
 subject of *pibatu* is Indra alone (the last-mentioned god, he is more-
 over the soma-drinker par excellence), while all the gods named are
 the subjects of the other verbs in MS , and in KS AŚ of *pibantu*
 likewise

dīrgham āyuh kṛnotu me etc , see §365

śarad dhemantah suvite dadhāta (°*tu*), etc , see §332

   §356. Singular and Dual

tasya nāmnā vṛścāmi (MŚ *vṛścāvo*) *yo 'smān* (MŚ *asmān*) *dveṣṭi*
 ApŚ MŚ 'By its name I (we two, i e I and the fireplace addressed)
 cleave him who hates us '

yena yamasya (AV *yamasya yena*, ApŚ TB omit *yena*) *nidhinā* (*bahinā*)
 carāmi (MS MŚ *carāvah*, SMB † *carāni*) AV TS MS TB TA
 ApŚ MŚ SMB   'With what treasure (tribute) of Yama I (we
 two) go about '   The dual cunningly draws the god Agni (addressed
 in the context) into partnership with the sinner'

punar ātman dadhātu me ApŚ   *punar me jathare dhattām* GB Vait
 Preceded in the latter by *agnis ca tat savitā ca*, in ApŚ by *agnis*
 tat somah pṛthivī (verb agrees with last subject)

sam yujyāva (TS *babhūva*) *samibhya ā* RV TS   *sam sanuyāva variṣv ā*
 KSA   Preceded in all by *aham ca tvam ca vṛtrahan*   The dual
 is the natural form, TS (excluding *tvam* from the subject) is
 bizarre

avānyāns tantūn kirato dhatto anyān TB   *prānyā tantūns tirate dhatte*
 anyā AV   Inclusive dual in TB , two separate singulars, each with
 subject *anyā*, in AV   That is, two separate actions are performed
 by the members of the pair, one apiece, in AV , both actions are done
 by both together in TB

saṃjajñāne rodasī sambabhūvatuḥ TB ApŚ . *samānam yonım abhısam-
babhūva* MŚ Preceded by *yad ıdam* (MŚ *ado) dıvo yad adah* (MŚ.
ıdam) pṛthıvyāh In MŚ the real sense implıes a dual subject,
but the verb agrees syntactıcally wıth the nearer of the two; note
that ıt has no dual noun referrıng to the subject, as have the others

saha dharmam carą (GDh *dharmaś caryatām)* GDh. NāradaDh ·
sahobhau caratām dharmam MDh

ayād (ŚŚ *ayāl) agnır* (MŚ *ayāṣtām agnīvarunāv) agneh prıyā dhāmāni*
MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ MŚ And, ın the same passage: *ayāṭ* (MŚ
ayāṣtām) somasya   , *ayā d (ayāṣtām) devānām...*, *yakṣad agner
hotuh (yakṣato 'gnīvarunayor hotroh)* . ; *yakṣat svam mahımānam
(yakṣatah svau mahımānau); āyajatām (āyajeyātām) ̣ejyā ıṣah;
kṛnotu so adhvarān (°rā) jātavedāh (kṛnutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau),
juṣatām (juṣetām) havıh* Duals all ın MŚ ; sıngulars (subject Agnı)
ın varıous of the others, see Conc

mā mā (KS *mām,* AB *mainam) hınsıṣtam svam* (AB *svām,* KS *yat
svam) yonım āvıśantau* (KS *āvıśāthah)* MS. KS AB : *mā mā hınsīh
svām* (KS *svam) yonım āvıśantī* (KS TB ApŚ *āvıśan)* VŚ KS ŚB
TB. ApŚ The dual ıs addressed to soma and *surā* together (both
are mentıoned ın the precedıng), the sıngular to *surā* and soma,
respectıvely, alone

§357. Dual and Plural

aśvınā bhıṣajāvatah (MS *°tam;* TB *°ta)* VS MS TB 'O Aśvıns,
physıcıans, aıd', or, 'let the Aśvıns' etc In TB the plural ıs due
to the ınclusıon of Sarasvatī (mentıoned ın the precedıng) along
wıth the Aśvıns ın the subject

vı sakhyānı sṛjāmahe (ŚŚ *°mahaı,* MŚ *vısṛjāvahaı)* AŚ ŚŚ Vaıt. ApŚ
MŚ PG The formula ıs used ın dıssolvıng the rıtual bond be-
tween *yajamāna* and prıests, and dual pronouns occur ın the pre-
cedıng, the dual of MŚ ıs therefore quıte ratıonal But the other
texts thınk of the pluralıty of prıests, together wıth the *yajamāna*

agnīṣomau tam apa nudatām (Conc quotes *°tam)* VS ŚB . *agnır
agnīṣomau tam apanudantu* ŚŚ Very sımple case of 'addıtıon'
to the subject

[*āyuṣkṛd āyuṣpatnī svadhāvantau,*] *gopā me stam, gopāyatam mām, ātmasa-
dau me stam mā mā hınsıṣtam* AV 5 9 8 [*āyuṣtad āyupatm* (ms
°nıh, read *āyuṣkṛd āyupatnī°) svadhāvo] gopā nah stha* KS 37 15
[*āyukṛd āyuhpatnī svadhā vo* (so text, and so Caland ınterprets, not
as voc *svadhāvo)*] *gopıryo me stha, gopāyata mā, rakṣata mātmasado
me stha* ApŚ 6 2ī 1 The dual verbs of AV are apparently

addrest to the *svadhāvantau* (note masculine predicates)   KS. has
plural with masc predicates, the masc being really common gender,
inclusive .of *āyuṣpatnī*, fem , ApŚ has fem plural, presumably
including the sing *āyukṛd* (understood as fem ?) and the dual-fem
āyuhpatnī as subjects, if Garbe and Caland are right in dividing
svadhā vo, ApŚ has no unmistakably masc subject

5 *Singular verb used alternatively with plural or dual subject felt collectively*

§358. As we mentioned above, §297, a plural or dual verb, justified
by strict grammar, may be replaced by a singular verb because the sub-
ject is felt collectively as a unit   In the first instance the plural is a
plurale tantum, āpaḥ 'waters', which is unquestionably construed with
a singular verb here

āpo 'mṛtam stha (PrānāgU °*tam asi*) Kauś PrānāgU   'O waters,
ye are (thou art) nectar!'   We believe the context makes it clear
that PrānāgU really feels *āpaḥ* as a collective singular in sense, to
explain the form *asi* as attracted to the number of the predicate
noun *amṛtam* would be, in our opinion, a mechanical and uninspired
interpretation of the passage

Singular and Dual

drupadād iva muñcatām (TB °*tu*, so read with Poona ed) AV TB
Preceded by *bhūtam mā tasmād bhavyam ca·* 'May what has been
and what is to be free me from that as from a post '   The singular
in TB might, possibly, be explained as under (e), that is as agreeing
with the nearer of the two subjects alone, but this seems to us false
and mechanical   Rather, the two subjects are taken together as
forming a single unitary concept

See also the Kauś reading, 33 9d, quoted under *mā vo riṣat* etc , §355

6 *Generalising forms, with subject indefinite*

§359. We saw above (§291), that the commonest Vedic form used to
express an indefinite subject (French *on*, German *man*) is the third
plural   This varies frequently with a third singular, which is often
likewise indefinite, but sometimes has a definite subject   Indefinite
third person forms, either singular or more often plural, likewise vary
with first and second person, generally with definite subjects   Such
variations between first and third person have been listed above §314 f ,
the rarer cases of third plural varying with second singular, with one
somewhat similar case of second plural and indefinite third singular, are

listed below. The great majority of cases concern only third person forms, in which the 3d plural is indefinite, while the third singular is either definite or indefinite

agnaye sam anamat prthivyai sam anamad TS KSA.: *prthivyām agnaye sam anaman sa ārdhnot* AV (And the like with *antarikṣāya sam* etc , see Conc , and others) 'To Agni, to the earth, one (they) made obeisance, he (it) throve' Both singular and plural are indefinite In the sequel of the same formula, however, TS. has a definite 3d singular, with subject Agni, while the 3d plural of AV. is still indefinite

yathāgnih prthivyā sam anamad. TS · *yathā prthivyām agnaye sam anamann* .AV. 'As Agni made obeisance to the earth', or, 'as on the earth they made obeisance to Agni'

na yac chūdreṣv alapsata (ŚŚ *alipsata*) AB ŚŚ 'Which they (one) would not find (even) among *śūdras* ' 3d plural aor . 3d sing desiderative, both indefinite See §135

svasti nah pūrnamukhah pari krāmatu (HG °*mukham pari krāmantu*) ApMB. HG. As the priest (only one, even in HG.) walks around (cows etc used in the ritual) he says 'With luck may one (they) walk around full-faced (or, around our full face?).' The plural, at least, seems to be generalizing and indefinite in character

nābhi prāpnoti (MŚ °*nuyur*) *nirṛtim parācaih* (AŚ MŚ *parastāt*) TB AŚ ApŚ MŚ · *na tat prāpnoti nirṛtim parācaih* (KŚ.*nirṛtih parastāt*) KŚ ApŚ The isolated reading of MŚ is probably a mere blunder; the passage is otherwise corrupt in the MŚ mss , see Knauer's note But it can at a pinch be interpreted as generalizing, 'they' = 'people', '*man*'

brahmajāyeyam iti (AV °*jāyeti*) *ced avocan* (AV °*cat*) RV. AV Both sing and plur. are indefinite 'if they have (one has) said, She is a brahman's wife '

yat te grāvnā cichiduh (MŚ *vichindat*) *soma rājan* TB Vait. MŚ Both sing and plur generalizing 'what with the press-stone they have (one may) cut off, O King Soma '

yat te grāvā bāhucyuto acucyavuh (Vait *acucyot*) TB Vait In a stanza which immediately follows the preceding The plural of TB is really uninterpretable (comm *acyāvayat*), it must be rendered: 'what of thee (soma) the press-stone, arm-dropped, has let fall.' But it seems to be felt vaguely as a generalizing plural, no doubt in mechanical imitation of the plural verb in the preceding and similar passage, just quoted.

yebhir vācam puṣkalebhir avyayan (TB °*yat*) KS TB   The plur is
certainly generalizing, and acc to TB comm also the sing (*sarvo
jantuh* is supplied as subject), altho it might be understood as having
sūrya of the prec pāda as subject, cf next

yebhir vācam viśvarūpebhir avyayan (TB °*rūpām samavyayat*) KS TB
In the same passage as the prec   Again the plur is certainly
generalizing, and the sing may be considered so with as much right
as in the prec , altho this time TB comm supplies Prajāpati from
the prec pāda

vāyuh paśur āsīt tenāyajanta (KSA °*jata*) . VS TS. KSA ŚB   And
the same with *agnih,* and with *ādityah (sūryah)*   Both forms are
generalizing 'therewith they (= people, or, one) sacrificed '

tāsām svasīr ajanayat (MS   *svar ajanan,* KS † *svasīr* [ms *svasūr*]
ajanan) pañca-pañca TS MS KS   In TS the subject is *dhātā* of
preceding pāda, in the others there is no definite subject (generaliz-
ing plural)

purutrā te manutām (AV *vanvatām) viṣṭhitam jagat* RV AV VS TS.
MS KSA N   The subject in AV can only be indefinite, 'they',
if the reading is correct, the comm reads *vanutām*   In the others
jagat is the subject

ya indrena saratham yāti devah AV   *yenendrasya ,atham sambabhūvuh*
MS KS ApŚ   In the latter the subject is indefinite, in AV it is
yah = Agni (who is referred to by *yena* in the others)

§360. For variations between indefinite 3d plural and definite 1st
singular, see §315 above   In a few cases we find the same indefinite
3d plural varying with a definite 2d singular, and once or twice, in the
first two variants, a somewhat similar variation between a generalizing
3d singular (subject once a relative pronoun used as indefinite) varying
with a definite 2d plural

śamitāro yad atra sukrtam kṛṇavathāsmāsu tad yad duṣkṛtam anyatra tat
AB AŚ   *yo duṣkṛtam karavat tasya duṣkṛtam* Kauś

tena mā saha śundhata (AV vulgate *śumbhantu,* but SPP *śumbhatu,*
adopted by Whitney on 18 3 56) RV AV   In RV apparently
the waters are addrest, in AV the plural form (which is read by
some mss) might also refer to them (and then concerns §337),
the singular, if correct, can only be indefinite (Whitney, 'one')

yenendrāya samabharah (MS KS °*ian) payānsi* AV TS MS KS   In
AV TS the subject is Agni, in MS KS indefinite   'By which
thou didst (they did) collect milk for Indra '

nayanto garbham vanām dhiyam dhuh RV.: *nayantam gīrbhir vanā dhiyam dhāh* SV   The subject in RV is indefinite 3d plural, in SV it is Agni, to whom the hymn is addrest   See Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 10 46 5   -

yena jayanti (TB *jayāsi*) *na parā jayante* (TB *jayāsai*) AV TB   'By whom people conquer (thou shalt conquer), not be conquered '

ranan (SV *ranā*) *gāvo na yavase* RV SV   'May they (indefinite, Ludwig 'man', in SV , 'do thou') rejoice as cows do in pasture '   Subject Soma in SV

[*sarasvatyā* (°*tyām*) *adhi*,*manāv* (with variants) *acarkṛṣuh* (*acakṛṣuh*) AV KS TB ApŚ MŚ SMB PG   See §§136, 236   The SMB is quoted in the Conc , following the older edition, as *sa*° *adhi vanāva carkṛdhi*, the only possible subject of the 2d person verb would be Indra, who is mentioned (not addrest) in the sequel   But the true reading is no doubt *manāv acakṛṣuh*, as given by Jörgensen]

7 *Change of Number due to Change of Subject, in the same context*

§361. In many cases the shift in verbal number is due to a rearrangement of the syntax of the passage, involving a change of subject   Cf above, §§ 323, 338   Naturally, there is often a change of person as well as number   We begin with cases in which number alone is changed; and first cases of

Third Person, Singular and Plural

brahma devā avīvṛdhan (MS *devan*, KS *devān*, MS KS *avīvṛdhat*) VS MS TS KS ŚB ApŚ   'The gods have increased brahman', or, 'brahman has increased the gods '

catuṣṭomam adadhād (TS °*ṣṭomo abhavad*) *yā turīyā* TS. MS KS : *agnīṣomāv adadhur yā turīyāsīt* AV   Subject in AV. must be *ṛṣayah* in the sequel if the text is correct, but Whitney on 8 9 14 would emend to *adadhād*

apām upasthe mahiṣo vavardha (RV ⁕ VS ŚB *mahiṣā avardhan*) RV. (both) AV SV VS ŚB TA *vavardha*, intrans , subject Agni, who is the object of *avardhan* (trans , subject *mahiṣāh*)

tayā devāh sutam ā babhūvuh TS KSA TB : *sā no asmin suta ā babhūva* VS MS   See Keith on TS 4 1 2. 1, note 6

yathāmiṣām (AV. *yathaiṣām*, SV *yathaiteṣām*, VS *yathāmī*) *anyo anyam na jānāt* (VS *jānan*) RVKh AV. SV VS.   The plural in VS is due to the fact that *amī* is made the subject   'So that one of them may not know another', or, 'so that they may not know one the other.'

ekapadī dvipadī   bhuvanānu prathatām svāhā TS   *ekapādam dvipādam tripādam catuṣpādam bhuvanānu prathantām* KS   *ekapadīm catuṣpadīm aṣṭāpadīm bhuvanānu prathantām* VS   ŚB   The TS form is intrans , 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds , the others have a trans verb with indefinite subject, 'let them spread her out' etc   This might be grouped under the preceding subdivision, but for the change of subject

aśvam medhyam abandhayat (ŚŚ *abadhnata*) ŚB   ŚŚ   See §30, end

tābhih samrabdham anv avindan (TB *samrabdho avidat*) *ṣad urvīh* AV. TB   In AV *ṣad urvīh* is the subject, in TB it is made the object, the subject being *samrabdho* (= Rohita)

anvātānsīt tvayi (MŚ *anvātānsus tava*) *tantum etam* VS TS MS KS ŚB   The subject is somewhat obscure in both cases, Mahīdhara on VS understands *ṛṣayah*, despite singular verb¹   MS seems to take the subject to be *pitarah* in the preceding pāda (the others have *pitarā* or °*ram*).

apochatu (AV. °*chantu*) *mithunā yā kimīdinā* (AV *ye kimīdinah*) RV   AV   In RV the subject of the (transitive) verb is doubtless Indra, who is mentioned in the preceding verse, 'let him shine away the paired *kimīdins* '   In AV the verb is intransitive, and the subject *kimīdinah* 'let the *kimīdins* fade away '

achāyam yanti śavasā ghṛtācīh KS · *achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena* (AV *ghṛtā cit*) AV TS VS MS   Keith on TS 4 1 8 1 not unfairly calls the KS reading 'absurd', but the psychology of it is plain, it is thinking of *srucah* in the next line   In the others the subject is Agni

āvir bhuvad (ArS *bhuvann*) *arunīr yaśasā goh* (ArS *gāvah*) RV ArS   The subject is changed from *arunīh* (singular in RV) to *gāvah*, no doubt because ArS feels *arunīh* to be a plural adjective

pibāt somam mamadad (AS ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ   'May it (soma) exhilarate him at the sacrifice', 'may the sacrifices exhilarate him '

aryamno agnim pary etu pūṣan (ApMB *pari yantu kṣipram*) AV ApMB   The subject is the bride in AV , the kinsfolk (or priests?) in ApMB

āpo malam iva prānaikṣīt (ApŚ *prānijan*)́AV ApŚ   Subject is a plant in AV , in ApŚ waters, the verb being drawn into the simile

tam rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhat TS   *tam rakṣasva, mā tvā dabhan* MS 1 2 13 22 12, VS 5 39, KS 3 1 (in Conc quoted under the two parts separately, but this is the true parallel to the TS passage, instead of *tān rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhan*, to which Conc gives a

In the others only AV is grammatically 'correct', since no other
subject is named along with Agni and the plural is irrational,
Mahīdhara on VS blithely takes *kṛnudhvam* as meaning *kṛnuṣva;*
but two other plural imperatives occur in the preceding in all YV
texts, and they, like *kṛnudhvam*, are evidently addrest to the gods
in general

revatī predhā yajñapatim āviśa MS KS · *revatī yajamāne priyam dhā
āviśa* VS ŚB   *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāviśata* TS ApŚ   Acc
to the Tait ritual texts (see Keith 45 n 5), addrest to the *vapāśra-
panās,* the two *darbha*-stalks and the *plakṣa*-twig, but acc to TS
comm, to the members of the sacrificial animal   Acc to VS
comm, Vāc is addrest

vratam kṛnuta (VSK adds· *vratam kṛnu vratam kṛnuta*) VS VSK TS
KS ŚB KŚ ApŚ   Acc to Mahīdhara on VS 4 11 and KŚ, the
formula *vratam kṛnuta,* 'prepare the fast-food', is to be repeated
thrice   The comm on KŚ says it is addrest to the *adhvaryu* etc,
i e the *adhvaryu* and his assistants   The three-fold repetition is
actually found in VSK, but the second time with singular instead
of plural; we may no doubt assume that this form (if textually
sound) was addrest to a single priest (the adhvaryu?)

anulbanam vayata (KS *vayasi*) *joguvām apah* RV TS KS AB ApŚ
On this·obscure verse see Edgerton, *AJP* 40 188, 192   Four
other parallel verbs, before and after this one in the same stanza,
are all singular, addrest to Agni   The subject of *vayata* is doubtful
KS makes it consistent with the others, of course secondarily

ā mātarā sthāpayase jigatnū RV. AV.. *ā sthāpayata mātaram jigatnum* AV
Followed by·

ata inoṣi karvarā purūni RV AV . *ata invata karvarāni bhūri* AV   In
an obscure hymn to Indra, who is the subject in RV, in one AV
passage there is a sudden change of subject (to whom?) in the
second half of the stanza, the first half of which is still addressed to
Indra, here also

§363. Singular and Dual

dhattam rayim sahavīram (ApMB *daśavīram*) *vacasyave* RV ApMB ·
rayim dhehi sarvavīram vacasyam AV   Dual addrest to the Aśvins,
who are addrest in the next pādas also in AV   The singular must be
understood as addrest to the bride, but it is not unfairly described
as 'senseless' (Whitney)

yad uttaradrāv uparaś ca khādatah AV   *yad apsaradror uparasya* (so
Conc, but KS ed °*drūr upa*°, see note in text, ApŚ *apsararūpara-*

sya) *khādati* KS ApŚ   In AV the subject is apparently the two *aranis*, in the others it must be Agni, but the passage is so obscure that Caland in his translation of ApŚ makes no attempt to render it.

atha jivtir (ApMB *athā jīvrī*, RV *adhā jivrī*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthah*) RV AV. ApMB   (The true AV. reading seems to be *jirvir*, see Whitney's note)   In RV address to the married couple, altho in the preceding pāda the bride alone is address   For this reason, doubtless, the later texts also address this pāda to the bride, by assimilation to the preceding

rtunā somam pibatam (KS °*tu*, MŚ °*tām*) KS MŚ ApŚ   Subject Aśvins in ApŚ MŚ (*aśvinādhvaryū* MŚ), an unnamed priest in KS

ghrtena dyāvāprthivī ā prnethām (MS MŚ *prna*, LŚ *prīnāthām srāhā*) TS MS KS LŚ ApŚ MŚ   'With ghee be filled (gratified), O heaven and earth!', or, 'fill heaven and earth with ghee' (address to the post)

varunasya skambhasarjanam asi (KS °*ny asi*, VS. ŚB °*nī sthah*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB MahānU   See Keith on TS 1 2 8 2, note 7.

§364. Dual and Plural

tāv imā upa sarpatah SV. JB   *emām anu sarpata* MS   In SV said of a pair of horses

yenākṣā (ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*, SMB *yenākṣān;* PG *yenākṣyār*) *abhyaṣicyanta* (ŚŚ SMB °*siñcatam*, PG. °*tām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG   In AV. the expression is made passive, with *akṣā(h)* as subject, see §§332, 293

§365. Singular and Plural, with accompanying Change of Person

We list here only variants in which 2d and 3d person forms, singular and plural, interchange   A few stray cases of 1st person interchanging with 2d and 3d, with shift of number, will be found above, §§302, 304, 312, 323

svar (TS *suvar*) *na śukram uṣaso vi didyutuh* (RV °*tah*) RV TS MS   'Like bright heaven the dawns have shone forth (or, make thou the dawns to shine forth) '

ā tvā vasavo rudrā ādityāh sadantu VS ŚB . *vasūnām rudrānām ādity-ānām sadasi sīda* (KS *sadanam asi*, MS *sado 'si srucām yonih*) TS MS KS TB ApŚ

paktaudanasya sukrtām etu lokam AV   (in next stanza) *imam paktvā sukrtām eta lokam* AV.   Subject of *eta* is the grains composing the porridge (*odana*), that of *etu* is *paktā*, the cooker of the *odana*   Conscious *vikāra*

hṛdo astv antaram taj juyoṣat (TA. *tad yuyota*) RV KS TA. 'Let (our song) be within (Parjanya's) heart, may he enjoy it' TA comm regards *yuyota* as addressed to the priests. 'unite it (viz our song, to Parjanya's heart)' But the reading is hardly more than a corruption, it has phonetic aspects (*j y*)

deveṣu nah sukṛto (*mā sukṛtam*) *brūtāt* (*brūta, brūyāt*), and others, see §104, t   The 3d person *brūyāt* is probably corrupt

yāś ca (*yā*) *devīr* (*devyo*) *antān* (with variants) *abhito 'dadanta* (*tatantha*); see §220   The form *tatantha* is corrupt, and may not even be intended for a 2d person

niṣkam iva prati muñcata (*°tām*) AV. (both)   'Fasten ye on (another) like a necklace', or, 'let him fasten on himself' etc

indram samatsu bhūṣata SV . *indrah samatsu bhūṣatu* RV AV   Preceded by *ā no viśvāsu havyah* (SV *°yam*) 'Let Indra associate himself with us (SV praise ye Indra),—who is to be invoked (of us) in every conflict'

salakṣmā (MS KS *°ma*) *yad viṣurūpam* (RV AV *°pā*) *bhavāti* (MS KS *babhūva*) RV AV VS MS KS ŚB   *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS   In RV AV of Yama (and Yamī), in YV different context, and scarcely interpretable 'when what is (ye that are) different become(s) similar.'

tigmāyudhāya bharatā śṛnotu nah (TB *śṛnotana*) RV. TB N   'Bring ye (a hymn) to him of sharp weapons, may he hear us (hear ye)!' In TB the verb is assimilated mechanically to *bharatā*, its secondariness is attested by the strong form of the stem

ā sve yonau niṣīdatu (KS *°ta*) RV TS MS KS AB   'May he (the god) sit (or, sit ye—priests) in his (your) own home'

indrāya devebhyo juhutā (MŚ *°tām*, ApŚ *juṣatām*) *havih svāhā* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ

indrāya pathibhir vahān (MS *vaha*) VS MS KS TB   Original subject is Aśvins and Sarasvatī, in MS awkwardly changed to a priest

_ *yānti śubhrā rinann apah* RV   *śubhā yāsi rinann apah* AV   Subject Maruts in RV , in AV Rohita

ud dharṣaya maghavann (AV *satvanām*) *āyudhāni* RV. AV. SV VS TS   *ud dharṣantām maghavan vājināni* AV. 'Let the energies be aroused, O Maghavan!' or, 'arouse the weapons, O M (the weapons of the warriors)'

tās tvā devīr (SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG *°sā*) *sam vyayantu* (PG *°yasva*) SMB PG HG ApMB MG · *tās tvā jarase sam vyayantu* AV   'Let these (goddesses) wrap thee up unto (with) old age'; or, 'wrap thyself up' etc

śivā naḥ śamtamā bhava (TA also *bhavantu*) AV AA TA (both). AŚ LŚ TA by an addition in one form of the variant introduces a different subject; see Whitney on AV 7 68.3

svadhābhir yajñam sukṛtam juṣasva (TB *yajñam prayatam juṣantām*) RV VS TB. In the original the subject is Agni, in TB it is made the *pitṛs*, obviously because in Brāhmaṇa times *svadhā* belongs particularly to them

ūrgham āyuḥ kṛnotu me (AV * ApMB *vām*) AV. JB Kauś ApMB : *āyuṣmantam karota mā* (RVKh *karotu mām;* KS *kṛnota mā*) RVKh KS. TA BDh : *sarvam āyur dadhātu me* ApŚ Occurs in several contexts in AV., one of these (7. 33 1) is the same·which occurs in all the other texts except Kauś and ApMB , the others are quite different In the one verse found in the majority of texts, this pāda is found at the end; in the prec various gods (last, Agni) are invoked in the 3d person for blessings on 'me' ('you' KS ApŚ), here Agni alone is invoked, likewise in the 3d person, in all but KS TA BDh , where we have instead a 2d person address to the plurality of gods mentioned before Note that the strong stemforms *karota* and *kṛnota* are poor. This variant might be classed in §355.

8 *Change of Number due to Change of Context, with different Subject*

§366. In a large number of cases, as in the case of variations in Person, the shift of number is due to the use of the formula in a different context, involving change of the verb's subject In some cases, as in the preceding subdivision, both person and number are changed, we list these cases at the end of this subdivision in so far as they concern shifts between second and third persons along with shift of number A few cases of the same sort showing first person in variation with second or third, and accompanying shift of number, will be found among the Person variants, above, §§303, 304, 310, 324 Included are some ritualistic *ūhas* and *vikāras*

§367. Singular, Dual, and Plural

akṣans tān VS KS TB *aghastām tān* MS. TB : *aghat tam* VS All aorists from root *ghas* Contexts are different tho related, and with different subjects See also under *akṣan* in Conc.

tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvā sīda VS TS etc (see Conc) *dhruvaḥ sīda* VS ŚB TA .. *dhruve sīdatam* VS *dhruvāḥ sīdata* TS Also: *tena brahmaṇā dhruvāḥ sīdata* (and, *dhruvā sīda*) KS. (both), *tena chandasā* . and *tenarṣiṇā* . , see Conc

prāṇāya me varcodā varcase pavasva VS VSK TS ŚB. *prāṇāpānābhyām
me varcodasau pavethām* MŚ   In MŚ addrest to Upāṅśu and
Antaryāma cups, in the others to Upāṅśu alone.

ā no yātam (yāhy) upaśruti RV. (both)   Addrest to the Aśvins or to
Indra

vidhṛtir asi TA ŚŚ · *vidhṛtī sthah* MS   Different contexts

divaś ca gmaś ca rājathah (rājasi) RV (both) See *RVRep.* 59.

rayim gṛnatsu didhṛtam (dhāraya) RV (both)   See *RVRep* 271, 528

rāyaspoṣam yajamāneṣu dhattam (dhehi; dhāraya) RV. (all)

sutānām pītim arhathah (arhasi) RV (both): *somānām pī° arhathah*
RV. SV. See *RVRep.* 137

mā mā sam tāptam (ApŚ *tāpsīh*) VS TS KS. TB PB ŚŚ LŚ.
ApŚ ApMB HG MG · *mā modoṣiṣṭam* (ŚŚ *modoṣīh*) MS ŚB. ŚŚ.
The contexts are quite different and the formulas are only in part
related to each other   E g in TS Indra-Viṣṇu are the subject,
in ŚB two fires, in ApŚ Agni, in ŚŚ *pṛthivī*

viṣurūpe ahanī dyaur vāsi (TA.* *iva sthah*) RV SV. TS. MS KS TA
(thrice). N   In one TA passage addrest to *dyāvāpṛthivī*, in the
rest to a single deity   Followed in same passage by:

viśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvah (SV. °*van;* TA * *avathah svadhāvantau*),
same texts

apriye prati muñca tat (Kauś † *muñcatam*) AV Kauś. In Kauś addrest
to the Aśvins, in AV probably to an amulet   Cf *apriyah prati
muñcatām,* §30

pā indra (and, *pātam narā*) *pratibhṛtasya madhvah* RV (both)   Dual
addrest to Indra-Vāyu

āre bādhethām (MS * KS * *bādhasva*) *nirṛtim parācaih* RV. TS MS
(both) KS (both): *bādhasva* (AV. *bādhethām*) *dūre* (AV. *dūram,*
TS *dveṣo*) *ni° pa°* RV. AV. TS   There are three different contexts;
the sing is addressed to Varuṇa, the dual to Soma-Rudra or Mitra-
varuṇa   In some cases this is followed by:

kṛtam cid enah pra mumugdhy (AV. TS * *mumuktam*) *asmat* (KS *asmāt*)
RV AV. TS (both) MS KS   See preceding.

ā modṛcah pātam (KS * *pāhi*) MS KS (both). *te mā pātam āsya yaj-
ñasyodṛcah* VS TS ŚB   The sing form of KS is a *vikāra* of the
other (in close proximity).

rāyas poṣam (KS' *tvaṣṭah poṣāya*) *vi syatu* (AV. MS. KS *śya*) *nābhim
asme* (AV *asya*) AV VS TS MS KS TB ApŚ : *r. p vi syatām
n a* RV. MS. TB   Subject of the dual is Soma-Pūṣan, of the sing.
Tvaṣṭar (nom˙ or voc , see §329, end).

ehy aśmānam ā tiṣtha AV ŚG Kauś MG : *ā tiṣṭhemam aśmānam*
ApMB HG . *ā rohemam aśmānam* PG · *imam aśmānam ā roha*
AG. SMB GG : *etam aśmānam ā tiṣṭhatam* MG   Followed by
aśmeva tvam sthirā (MG ApMB * AVPpp *sthiro) bhava* AVPpp (for
AV vulgate 2 13 4b *aśmā bhavatu te tanūh)* AG ŚG SMB PG
ApMB HG MG : *aśmeva yuvām sthirau bhavatam* MG   The 2d
(dual) version of MG in a *vikāra* of the other
asmān su jigyuṣas kṛdhi (kṛtam) RV. (both)   Subjects Indra. Indra-
Varuna
asme (AV * *asyai) rayim sarvavīram ni yachatam* (AV. *yacha*) RV. AV
(both)
bādhatām (TB °*etām) dveṣo abhayam* (AV * adds *nah*) *kṛnotu* (TB *kṛnu-*
tām) RV. AV VS TS MS KS TB Subjects Indra Tiṣya and
Brhaspati

§369. Dual and Plural

sumnāya sumnini sumne mā dhattam TS TB ApŚ . *sumne sthah sumne*
mā dhattam VS ŚB · *sumnāyuvah* (KS °*yavah) sumnyāya sumnam*
(KS *sumnyam) dhatta* MS KS   The plural occurs in a different
context from the dual

anu tvā viśve devā avantu (KS *viśve avantu devāh)* KS TB : *anu mām*
mitrāvarunāv ihāvatām AA

śansāmo   AB ApŚ *śansāvom, śansāvo*   AB 3 12 1 GB Vait
And other forms, see Conc   Sacrificial exclamations, based upon
verb-forms (dual referring to *hotar* and *adhvaryu*, plural to priests
as a group?)

te māvantu AV TS PG   *te* (and, *tau) māvatām* AV (in same hymn,
vikāras)   See further in Conc under *tāni no 'vantu*

pra na spārhābhir ūtibhis tireta (°*tam)* RV (both)   Maruts Indra-
Varuna

rayim dhattam (dhattha; dhattho) vasumantam purukṣum (śatagvinam)
RV (all)   See *RVRep* 149

śarma ca stho varma ca sthah VS TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ · *śarma ca*
stha varma ca stha KS ApŚ   Quite different contexts and subjects

sapatnān sahiṣīmahi AV 3 6 4d; *sa° sahiṣṇahi* AV 19 32 5d, *sapa'-*
nīm me sahāvahai RV. AV 3 18 5d ApMB   So the AV vulgate,
but *sahiṣīrahi* is an emendation (see Whitney's note), the mss of
19 32 5 read °*mahi*   This stanza is a repetition, with modifications
to suit the new context, of 3 18 5, the dual is there proper, as the
subject is *ubhe sahasi atī* of pāda c, referring to the amulet and the
speaker of the charm (there a woman, in 19 32 5 changed to

ubhau sahasvantau because the speaker is a man) The dual is equally required by the sense in 19 32 5. Yet the vulgate Atharvan reading here is clearly *sahisīmahi* (all mss and comm, altho Ppp has the correct *°vahi*, Barret, *JAOS* 46. 42), which should be retained, obviously the entire pāda 3 6 4d, which belongs to a quite different context where the plural is required, has been mechanically imported without change into 19 32 5

etā asadan sukṛtasya loke TS. TB pratīkas, *etā asadan,* and (ūha) *etā asadatām,* ApŚ

§370. Singular and Plural

marutām prasave (VS ŚB *°vena) jaya* (TS *jayata*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In TS addrest to the horses, in the others to the chariot. Different contexts

tasmā u rādhah kṛnuta praśastam (AV *kṛnuhi supraśastam*) RV AV

anu mā rabhadhvam (ŚŚ *rabhasva*) KS ApŚ ŚŚ Hardly to be called variants, different contexts

indrasya bhāga stha AV : *i° bhāgo 'si* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ Also *devasya savitur bhāga* etc and others

dviṣatām (AV *duritāt) pātv anhasah* RV AV · *duritāt pāntv anhasah* (LŚ *viśvatah*) AV. LŚ Two different contexts; verb appropriate in both In AV we may suspect a mutual *rapprochement* in phraseology

edam barhir ni sīdata (AŚ ŚŚ *sīda nah*) RV VS KB AŚ ŚŚ Different contexts

cakṣur me tarpayata (PG *tarpaya*) VS TS MS KS ŚB PG Applied to a different context in PG Similarly with *śrotram, apānam, prānāpānau,* etc, and likewise

prānam me tarpayāta (ŚŚ *tṛmpa*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. ŚŚ

mohayitvā nipadyate (RVKh *prapadyante*) RV 10 162 6b (correct ref), AV RVKh MG.

viśvābhyo mā nāṣṭrābhyah (VS ŚB *°bhyas,* MS *danṣṭrābhyas) pāhi* (TS. TB *pāta,* PG *paripāhi sarvatah*) VS. TS MS ŚB TB TA PG In TS addrest to the arrows used in the *rājasūya;* in VS acc to Mahīdhara to *mahāvīradakṣinabhūmi*

varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ *dhehi*) AV AŚ *varco mayi dhehi* etc, see Conc Numerous items in different contexts, hardly to be considered variants

apo (TS *udno) dattodadhim bhinatta* (or *bhinta*) VS TS MS KS . *udno dehy udadhim bhindhi* KS † There are two different contexts, both of which occur in TS MS KS In one the plural is appropriate,

gods being the subject   In the other (TS 4 7 13 2, MS 2 12 3,
KS 18 15) only a singular is appropriate, the subject required being
Agni, altho KS is the only text that has the proper sing form
Apparently MS TS copied mechanically from the other passage
where the plur is required   VS has the formula only in this latter
(properly sing) context, but nevertheless has like TS MS plur
forms, blandly interpreted by Mahīdhara as singulars (*datta dehi,
bhintta bhinddhi*)—At the end of the same passages occurs the
following formula

tato no (KS *mā*) *vṛṣṭyāvata* (VS † and KS once, °*āva*) VS TS MS KS
ApŚ MŚ   Again KS varies consistently according to the subject,
and is this time joined by VS   (not noted in Conc), leaving only
Tait and Maitr texts with inconsistent plurals where singulars
are required

yām indrena (AV. adds *samdhām*) *samadadhvam* (TS *samadhadhvam,*
AV *samadhatthāh*) AV TS MS KS (so correct Conc), see also
Conc under *iyam vah sā* , *eṣā vas sā*   The contexts are differ-
ent, and both verbs are appropriate

āyātu (TB * *āyāntu*) *yajñam upa no juṣāṇah* (TB * °*nāh*) VS MS KS
TB (both)   Different contexts, subjects Indra Ādityas

apa jahi (*hata*) *parigham* ChU (both). Addrest to singular and plural
deities respectively.

āyur me yacha (ApŚ * *yachata*) MS KS ApŚ (both) MŚ

ūrjam no dhehi (MS KS each once, *dhatta*) *dvipade catuṣpade* VS TS
MS KS ŚB TB AG ŚG. ApMB PrānāgU   Occurs frequently,
in several different contexts, sing number is appropriate in all but
one which is addrest to *agnayah*, plur , the prec pāda being. *te
virājam* (KS *samrājam*) *abhisamyantu sarve* (correct Conc for MS),
MS 1 6 2d 88 2 and 89 7, KS 7 14d   Here KS , and once MS ,
have the correct form *dhatta*   In MS 88 2 the *samhitā* mss have
incorrectly *dhehi* (note that this form of the variant occurs, in
another context which requires the singular, in the same section of
MS 86 19), the p p *dhatte* (¹), pointing to the correct *dhatta*, which
should probably be read here

yasyauṣadhīh prasarpatha RV VS   *yasyāñjanu prasarpasi* AV   Fol-
lowed in same verse by

tato yakṣmam vi bādhadhve (AV *bādhase*) RV AV. VS

tatremam yajñam yajamānam ca dhehi (MŚ 5 2 16 14d *dhatta*, correct
Conc) Vait KŚ MŚ (both) ApŚ Kauś   In one of the two

occurrences in MŚ the verb is made plural because several priests
are addrest, in the others only one is addrest

mayi ramasva (LŚ *ramadhvam*) SMB GG LŚ   Hardly to be considered
variants

karat AŚ · *karan* (*ūha* of *karat*) AŚ

gātum vittvā gātum ihi MS ApŚ   *devā gātuvido gātum vittvā* (VSK °*tum
itvā*) *gātum ita* AV VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB TB   In the sing
form secondarily addrest to the animal as it is slaughtered

tasyāgne bhājayeha mā TB · *tasya bhājayateha nah* RV. AV SV VS. TS
MS KS TA ApMB   The plural is addrest to waters

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV   *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV

mama cittam upāyasi AV · *mama cittam cittenānvehi* HG   *mama cittam
anu cittebhir eta* AV   Hardly variants

pranaya Vait MŚ · *pranayata* AŚ   To plurality of priests in AŚ
Hardly variants?

mā me prajāyā (correct Conc). *prasrpa motsrpa* (also, °*pata*, °*pata*)
TA. 1 14. 2–4 (each thrice)   Modulations of the same formula
with different subjects

yukṣvā (*yuṅgdhvam*) *hy aruṣī rathe* RV (both)   Subject Agni· Maruts

rayim ca nah sarvavīram ni yachata MS KS AŚ SMB ·.   *ni yacha* AV.
(see Conc for other sing parallels)   As between singular and
plural, quite different contexts and subjects

rāṣṭram amuṣmai datta VS TS MS ŚB, ApŚ MŚ   *rā° am° dehi* VS
ŚB.   The latter in stanza preceding the former, modulation with
change of subject

śarma yacha catuṣpade AV : *śarma yachata dvipade catuṣpade* RV

sindhor ūrmā vy akṣaran (SV °*rat*) RV. SV   Different contexts, sub-
ject in RV *indavah*, in SV *ayam* (= *somah*) *sa yah*

sukṛtām loke sīdata (AV *sīda*) AV TS MS   Subjects *dakṣiṇāḥ:
odanah*

sradantu (*svadāti*, °*tu*) *havyam* (*yajñam*) *madhunā ghṛtena*.   Different
contexts and subjects· plural form RV AV VS MS KS TB N ;
sing VS MS KS TB   The form *svadātu*, MS only, seems to be a
blend of the other two

yaśah stha yaśasvī bhūyāsam ApŚ (subject waters). *yaśo 'si yaśo 'ham
tiayi bhūyāsam* (ApMB adds *asau*) ApMB HG (subject a man)

viśiā rūpāni puṣyata (°*yasi*) AV (both)

lokam me yajamānāya vinda (and, ūha, *vindata*) ChU (both)   Subjects
Agni or Vāyu   Ādityas

yajñam nah pātu (TB *pāntu*) *rajasah* (TB *vasavah*) *parasmāt* (TB ApŚ.
  puraslāt) MS. KS TB ApŚ
agna ājyasya vyantu vaujhak; *agnim ā° vetu vau°*; *agninājyasya vyantu
  vau°*; *agnir ā° vetu vau°*, all ŚB 2 2 3 19.
apām oṣadhīnām rasa stha TS. TB (not MŚ !) *apām puṣpam asy
  oṣadhīnām raṣaḥ* . PB TB LŚ ApŚ
āpura stā mā   pūrayata ŚŚ : *āpūryā sthā mā pūrayata* TS AŚ :
  āpṛno 'si sampṛnah (ApŚ corruptly, *āpṛṇoṣi sampṛna*)   *ā pṛna*
  ŚŚ ApŚ   Four quite different contexts with different subjects
imam me agadam kṛta (AV. *kṛdhi*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB   To
  one or more herbs; different contexts
kratum punīta (and, *punata*) *ānuṣak* RV. (both)   3d sg and pl impf
  mid
divas (SV *divah*) *pṛṣthāny āruhan* (AV * °*hat*) AV. (both) SV Subjects
  Aṅgirasas: Agni.
  §371. Change of Person (between 2d and 3d) with Change of Number
  (a) Singular, Dual, and Plural
sunoty ā ca dhāvati RV.: *sunuta ā ca dhāvatah* RV : *sunotā ca dhāvata*
  AV. Cf *RVRep* 315   Verbs are all appropriate to the respective
  contexts
  (b) Singular and Dual
chinttam śiro api pṛṣṭīh śṛnītam AV · *pṛṣṭīr vo 'pi śṛnātu yātudhānāh*
  AV. Subjects are Aśvins and Rudra, hardly comparable
pibatam somyam madhu RV. (quinquies) SV : *pibāti so° ma°* RV.
  (semel) SV.
madhvā yajñam mimikṣatam (and, °*ti*) RV. (both)
śam no bhūtam dvipade śam catuṣpade RV MS KS . *śam no bhava* etc ,
  śam na edhi etc , *śam no astu* etc , in many texts and different
  connexions, see Conc
  (c) Dual and Plural
madhye divah svadhayā mādayante (RV * °*yethe*) RV. (both) AV. VS
  See *RVRep* 118
ye kālālena tarpayatho (and, *tarpayanti*) *ye ghṛtena* AV (both)   Subjects
  Heaven and Earth. Maruts
indravantau (ŚŚ °*tā*) *havir idam juṣethām* TB ApŚ ŚŚ . *indravanto ha°
  i° juṣantām* TB ApŚ. *Vikāra*, subjects *śunāsīrau   pitarah*
  (d) Singular and Plural
ganān me mā vi tītṛṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*) TS MŚ · *ganān me mā vy arīriṣah*
  Vait · *ganā me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TS ŚB : *ganair mā mā vi tītṛṣata*
  MS   See §337

rāyaś ca poṣaır abhı nah sacadhvam (and, *sacatām*) AV (both)

juṣasva havyam āhutam RV AV. VS TS MS KS · *juṣantāṁ* TS.
MS KS The last occurs ın the same stanza as ın RV. 3 22. 4 =
VS 20 90, both of whıch read *juṣantām yajñam adruhah* Con-
tamınatıon between the two pādas ıs obvıous

svām yonım apı gachata (TB ApŚ * °*tu*) TB ApŚ {both) AŚ ApMB
HG

ıha sphātım sam ā vahān (*vaha*) AV. (both) The second ıs a *vıkāra*
of the first

ārāc cıd dveṣah sanutar yuyotu (RV * °*ta*) RV (both) AV. VS TS MS
KS N *ārāc cıd dveṣo vṛṣano yuyota* RV

ıṣam ūrjam yajamānāya dhehı (Vaıt *dattvā*; AV. *duhrām*) AV VS. TS.
MS KS ŚB Vaıt Three dıfferent contexts, in AV, Vaıt, and
YV texts respectıvely

mamāmıtrān vı vıdhyata (and, °*tu*) AV. (both) Cf. also· *amitrān no
vı vıdhyatām* AV

vıśvam puṣyanıı vāryam RV. AV *vı*° *puṣyası vā*° RV. AV. SV. See
RVRep 99

svastı rāye maruto dadhātana (MG, °*tu nah*) RV. KS. AB MG Knauer
assumes that *maruto* ıs understood as a nom. sıng and made the
subject of *dadhātu* (perhaps for *māruto*). Certaınly no 3d person is
construable, Knauer's suggestion is hardly more than one of despair.
But all hıs mss read thus, and the Baroda ed. (*GOS* 35, 1926)agrees.

9 *Corruptıons and Errors*

§372. The followıng are merely corruptions or errors of one kind or
another Some ınvolve varıants ͽf person as well as number

(a) Sıngular and Dual

antas tıṣthatu (MG °*to*) *me mano 'mṛtasya ketuh* SMB HG MG All
mss of MG read °*to*, and the Baroda ed agrees The form cannot
be ınterpreted grammatıcally It must be either a phonetic
varıant (*u o*) or a mere corruption See Knauer's note

śrotrāya me varcodā (TS °*dau*) *varcase* (MŚ omits) *pavasva* (TS *pave-
thām*) VS VSK. TS ŚB MŚ. So the Conc wrongly supplies in
TS 3 2 3 2, after the abbrevıatıon *śrotrāya* whıch ıs all thăt the
text reads It is addrest to a soma-cup (*graha*), and clearly a
sıngular expressıon, not a dual, ıs understood No varıant exists.
Sımılarly under *aṅgebhyo me*.

(b) Dual and Plural

supippalā oṣadhīh karṭanāsme (AV *karṭam asmai,* VSK *karṭam asme*)
AV. VS VSK MS Subject is *Śunāsīrā* (dual) Mahīdhara can
find nothing to say except that the plural foim *kartana* is used in the
sense of the dual It is, indeed, hard to imagine who else may be
included in the subject (gods in general?)

viśvāh pinvathah (TB *°tha*) *svasarasya dhenāh* RV MS TB The TB
form is to be taken as intending *pinvathah,* dual (sandhi before
s+cons).

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnam nah (TB TA *ṛnāni*) AV TB TA *apsara-
sām anudattānṛnāni* MS The MS reading is badly corrupt,
anudatta is uninterpretable, p p *anu, dattāni, ṛnāni,* which is just
as bad

indrāvathuh (VSK *°dhuh,* KS * TB ApŚ *°tam*) *kāvyaiɪ* (TB ApŚ
karmanā) *dansanābhih* RV AV VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB
ApŚ The VSK reading is only a corruption, phonetic in char-
acter (sonant for surd); and yet a 3d person (dual!) seems required
in all texts; see Oldenbeig, *RVNoten* on 10 131 5

(c) Singular and Plural

punsah kartur mātary āsiṣikta JB *punsā karṭrā mātari mā ni ṣiñca*
KBU The Conc says 'read *ṣiñcata*' for KBU In any case a 2d
plural form must be read, according to Deussen, *60 Up* 25, three
mss read *mā asiṣikta,* nearly as in JB

mātā jaghanyā sarpati (HG *gachanti,* read *gachati,* Kirste) ApMB HG

pibā somam indra mandatu (Svidh erroneously *mandantu*) *tvā* RV AV
SV TS AB KB PB AA AŚ ŚŚ Vait Svidh

hastacyutī (SV *°tam*) *janayanta* (SV † *°yata*) *praśastam* RV SV KS KB
ApŚ MŚ N Subject is *naro,* in preceding pāda, unless this is
felt in SV as singular, from the later stem *nara,* the verb-form is
uninterpretable Benfey translates as plural, regarding the form
as anomalous

aram aśvāya gāyati (SV *°ta*) RV SV Subject is the n pr Śrutakakṣa
in the next pāda (nom in RV , voc in SV) The plural verb in
SV is anomalous, it is perhaps vaguely felt as including the asso-
ciates of Ś (cf §§353 ff), or as a plural of respect (? unlikely)

agnihotreṇedam havir ajuṣatāvīvṛdhata (AŚ *°vīvṛdhanta) maho jyāyo
'kṛta* TS AŚ Read in both texts (with TB Poona ed) *agnir
hotreṇedam   °vṛdhata* AŚ is doubly corrupt In the same
passage, just before this, the same formula with *devā ājyapā(h)* as
subject, read in AŚ (1 9 5) *mahb jyāyo 'krata* (text *'kṛta,* this
section is listed as a separate formula in Conc , see §367)

tam te duścakṣā māva khyan TS. 3. 2 10 2 (so Conc , but the reading is *khyat*, followed by *m-*, hence *n* by sandhi): *duścakṣās te māva l.śat* (*khyat, kṣat*) MS KS

sarasvatyā (*°tyām*) *adhi menāv* (with variants) *acarkṛṣuh* (KS *acakṛ°*, SMB *carkṛdhi*, but Jörgensen *acakṛṣuh*) AV. KS TB ApŚ. MŚ SMB PG   See §§136, 236

adārasṛd bhavata (AV *°tu*)· *deva soma* AV TB ApŚ *bhavata* is apparently assimilated mechanically to *mṛdatā* of the next pāda, of which *maruto* is the subject   Here soma is addressed, and the subject is *adārasṛd, bhavata* makes no sense, Caland renders *bhavatu* in ApŚ Yet *bhavata* is read in both edd of TB , and was clearly the Tait. school reading   TB comm fatuously makes *bhavata* equivalent to *bhava.*

ā pitaram vaiśvānaram avase kah (PB *kuh;* comm *kah* ≈ *kuru*) PB KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.   Perhaps only a misprint in PB

divodāsāya randhayah (SV *°yan*) RV. SV.   Tho Benfey keeps *randhayan* in his text, he translates 'du ubergabst', as if *°yah*, so the comm., *samvītavān asi; randhayan* is hopeless (perhaps felt as nom sg pple ?)

svasti caratād iha (SMB *ayam;* MG *caratā diśah*) Kauś SMB. ApMB HG. MG   Spoken by the *guru* at the *upanayana; caratād* is 3d person, subject is the boy   In MG *caratā* is only a corruption, phonetic in character, note the following *d-*, and compare the extensive section on 'False Divisions' which will appear in our volume on Phonetics.

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- INDEX OF WORDS

Note —A complete index of words would manifestly be extremely bulky, and seems to me unnecessary in view of the following Index of Mantras   Here are listed a few important or anomalous words and forms, the importance or anomaly of which is not, or not primarily, a function of the variant mantras in which they occur   Others can easily be located by locating the mantras containing them   References are to sections except when preceded by p = page

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